THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

In EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

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HENRY VIII.

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CHAP. XXVIII. 1525. Wolsey's administration.

THE numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was

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incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the diſcontents of the great. That artful prelate likewiſe, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the abſolute aſcendant which he had acquired; and while he ſecretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind ſubmiſſion to the will and authority of his maſter. By entering into the king's pleaſures, he preſerved his affection; by conducting his buſineſs, he gratified his indolence; and by his unlimited complaiſance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealouſy, to which his exorbitant acquiſitions, and his ſplendid oſtentatious train of life ſhould naturally have given birth. The archbiſhopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolſey was promoted to that ſee, and reſigned the biſhopric of Lincoln. Beſides enjoying the adminiſtration of Tournay, he got poſſeſſion, on eaſy leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, biſhoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by yielding a conſiderable ſhare of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the ſee of York, firſt that of Durham, next that of Wincheſter; and there ſeemed to be no end of his acquiſitions. His farther advancement in eccleſiaſtical dignity ſerved him as a pretence for engroſſing ſtill more revenues: The pope, obſerving his great influence over the king, was deſirous of engaging him in his intereſts, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting reſpect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the ſtate and dignity of that character. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: Some even of the nobility put their children

children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his ſervants. Whoever was diſtinguiſhed by any art or ſcience paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and, both by his public inſtitutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition[a]. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wiſe, he ſtrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the ſplendor of his equipage and furniture, the coſtly embroidery of his liveries, the luſtre of his apparel. He was the firſt clergyman in England that wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes[b]. He cauſed his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a perſon of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A prieſt, the talleſt and moſt comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of ſilver, on whoſe top was placed a croſs: But not ſatisfied with this parade, to which he thought himſelf entitled as cardinal, he provided another prieſt of equal ſtature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the croſs of York, even in the dioceſe of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of theſe rival ſees[c]. The people made merry with the cardinal's oſtentation; and ſaid they were now ſenſible, that one crucifix alone was not ſufficient for the expiation of his ſins and offences.

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WARHAM, chancellor and archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averſe to all diſputes, choſe rather to retire from public employment, than maintain

[a] Eraſm. Epiſt. lib. 2. epiſt. 1. lib. 26. epiſt. 3. Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 502. Hollingſhed, p. 847.

[b] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

[c] Polydore

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an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. He reſigned his office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was immediately delivered to Wolſey. If this new accumulation of dignity encreaſed his enemies, it alſo ſerved to exalt his perſonal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever diſcovered greater impartiality in his deciſions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity[a].

The duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almoſt entirely exhauſted by projects and pleaſures, while his inclination for expence ſtill continued, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, reaped no advantage from his abſence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly diſguſted at the aſcendant acquired by Wolſey, withdrew himſelf wholly to the care of his dioceſe. The duke of Suffolk had alſo taken offence, that the king, by the cardinal's perſuaſion, had refuſed to pay a debt which he had contracted during his reſidence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Theſe incidents left Wolſey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king "not to ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than his maſter:" Henry replied, "that he well knew how to retain all his "ſubjects in obedience;" but he continued ſtill an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counſels of the cardinal.

The public tranquillity was ſo well eſtabliſhed in England, the obedience of the people ſo entire, the ge-

[a] Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

neral

neral adminiſtration of juſtice, by the cardinal's means[e], ſo exact, that no domeſtic occurrence happened conſiderable enough to diſturb the repoſe of the king and his miniſter: They might even have diſpenſed with giving any ſtrict attention to foreign affairs, were it poſſible for men to enjoy any ſituation in abſolute tranquillity, or abſtain from projects and enterprizes, however fruitleſs and unneceſſary. CHAP. XXVIII. 1515.

Scotch affairs.

THE will of the late king of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of ſtates, which confirmed that deſtination, had expreſsly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried[f]: But notwithſtanding this limitation, a few months after her huſband's death, ſhe eſpouſed the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promiſing hopes. Some of the nobility now propoſed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the moſt likely means of preſerving peace with England: But the jealouſy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglaſſes, begat oppoſition to this meaſure. Lord Hume in particular, the moſt powerful chieftain in the kingdom, inſiſted on recalling the duke of Albany, ſon to a brother of James III. who had been baniſhed into France, and who, having there married, had left poſterity, that were the next heirs to the crown, and the neareſt relations to their young ſovereign. Albany, though firſt prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their ſituation, unpractiſed in their language; yet ſuch was the favour attending the French alliance, and ſo great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of go-

[e] Eraſm. lib. 2. epiſt. 1. Cavendiſh. Hall. Drummond. Herbert.

[f] Buchanan, lib. 14.

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vernment. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany ſome time in France; but at length, ſenſible how important it was to keep Scotland in his intereſts, he permitted him to go over, and take poſſeſſion of the regency: He even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied ſuch a cloſe connexion, as might be thought ſomewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland, he made enquiries concerning the ſtate of the country, and character of the people; and he diſcovered a ſcene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy, and that not a cloſe one, of petty princes, than a regular ſyſtem of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, poſſeſſed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms, more than laws, prevailed; and courage, preferably to equity or juſtice, was the virtue moſt valued and reſpected. The nobility, in whom the whole power reſided, were ſo connected by hereditary alliances, or ſo divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impoſſible, without employing an armed force, either to puniſh the moſt flagrant guilt, or give ſecurity to the moſt entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exerciſed on a hoſtile tribe, inſtead of making a perſon odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their eſteem and approbation; and by rendering him uſeful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the neceſſity of mutual ſupport ſerved as a cloſe cement of amity among thoſe of the ſame kindred, the ſpirit of revenge againſt enemies, and the deſire of proſecuting the deadly feuds (ſo they were called), ſtill appeared to be paſſions the moſt predominant among that uncultivated people.

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THE persons to whom Albany, on his arrival, first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume[5]; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws, and the administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary, they said, to make an example of this great offender; and by the terror of his punishment, teach all lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their sovereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced to forget Hume's past services, to which he had, in a great measure, been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance, with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own safety, and from motives of revenge, to take measures in opposition to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and the queen dowager, and represented to them the danger to which the infant prince was exposed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority of government. By his persuasion, Margaret formed the design of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and when that conspiracy was detected, she herself, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she was soon after delivered of a daughter.

HENRY, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to these malcontents, and assured them of his support. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual suspicions and jealousies still

[5] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

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prevailed. He was committed to cuſtody, under the care of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was, for ſome time, detained priſoner in his caſtle. But having perſuaded Arran to enter into the conſpiracy with him, he was allowed to make his eſcape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation enſued, not more ſincere than the foregoing; and Hume was ſo imprudent as to entruſt himſelf, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately ſeized, committed to cuſtody, brought to trial, condemned and executed. No legal crime was proved againſt theſe brothers: It was only alleged, that, at the battle of Flouden, they had not done their duty in ſupporting the king; and as this backwardneſs could not, from the courſe of their paſt life, be aſcribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt, produced againſt them, was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much diſſatisfied with their execution.

SUCH violent remedies often produce, for ſome time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they deſtroy mutual confidence, and beget the moſt inveterate animoſities, their conſequences are commonly fatal, both to the public, and to thoſe who have recourſe to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the preſent calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was, at that time, willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and was engaged to remain there for ſome years. During the abſence of the regent, ſuch confuſions prevailed in Scotland, and ſuch mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly diſabled, both from offending its enemies, and aſſiſting its friends. We have carried on the Scottiſh hiſtory ſome years beyond the preſent

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preſent period; that, as that country had little connexion with the general ſyſtem of Europe, we might be the leſs interrupted in the narration of thoſe more memorable events which were tranſacted in the other kingdoms.

It was foreſeen, that a young, active prince, like Francis, and of ſo martial a diſpoſition, would ſoon employ the great preparations which his predeceſſor, before his death, had made for the conqueſt of Milan. He had been obſerved even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaſton de Foix; and theſe tears of emulation were held to be ſure preſages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and having left every thing ſecure behind him, he marched his armies towards the ſouth of France; pretending that his ſole purpoſe was to defend his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Swiſs. This formidable people ſtill retained their animoſity againſt France; and having taken Maximilian, duke of Milan, under their protection, and in reality reduced him to abſolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and of intereſt, to defend him againſt the invader[h]. They fortified themſelves in all thoſe valleys of the Alps through which, they thought, the French muſt neceſſarily paſs; and when Francis, with great ſecrecy, induſtry, and perſeverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another paſſage, they were not diſmayed, but deſcended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and oppoſed themſelves to the progreſs of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the moſt furious and beſt conteſted battles that is to be met with in the hiſtory of theſe later ages; and it required all the heroic valour of this prince to inſpire his troops with courage

Progreſs of Francis I.

13th Sept.

[h] Memoires du Bellai, lib. 2. Guicciardini, lib. 12.

ſufficient

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sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiss renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was strowed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the mareschal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet seen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes[i]. After this great victory, the conquest of the Milaneze was easy and open to Francis.

Jealousy of Henry.

The success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was, during that age, the seat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre which has since been shared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe, and every acquisition which was made there appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, strictly speaking, entitled to. Henry also thought that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his sister, the queen dowager[k]. The repairing of the fortifications of Teroüenne was likewise regarded as a breach of treaty. But, above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the disgust which Wolsey had entertained against the French monarch.

Henry, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking

[i] Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

[k] Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 31.

the

the oath of allegiance to his new ſovereign; and Wolſey was appointed, as above related, adminiſtrator of the biſhopric. As the cardinal wiſhed to obtain the free and undiſturbed enjoyment of this revenue, he applied to Francis, and deſired him to beſtow on Gaillart ſome ſee of equal value in France, and to obtain his reſignation of Tournay. Francis, who ſtill hoped to recover poſſeſſion of that city, and who feared that the full eſtabliſhment of Wolſey in the biſhopric would prove an obſtacle to his purpoſe, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the biſhop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his ſettlement in the ſee. Wolſey, who expected to be indulged in every requeſt, and who exacted reſpect from the greateſt princes, reſented the ſlight put upon him by Francis; and he puſhed his maſter to ſeek an occaſion of quarrel with that monarch [m].

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Maximilian, the emperor, was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterprize; eſpecially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly ſecretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commiſſion to propoſe ſome conſiderable payments to Maximilian [n]: He thence made a journey into Switzerland, and, by like motives, engaged ſome of the cantons to furniſh troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a conſiderable army; but being repulſed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a ſum of money, and thus excluded himſelf, in ſome meaſure, from all future acceſs into Italy. And Henry found, that, after expending five or ſix hundred thouſand ducats in order to gratify his own and the

[m] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

[n] Petrus de Angleria, epiſt. 568.

cardinal's

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cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminiſhing the power of that prince.

1515. THERE were many reaſons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at preſent in his enmity againſt France: He could hope for aſſiſtance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a ſpeedy period was looked for to the long and proſperous reign of that great monarch. Charles, prince of Spain, ſovereign of the Low Countries, deſired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it ſo much in his power, if provoked, to obſtruct his peaceable acceſſion to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a cloſe alliance with that monarchy [a]. Henry, therefore, was conſtrained to remain in tranquillity during ſome time; and ſeemed to give himſelf no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into ſome expence, by offering to make a reſignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too groſs to ſucceed, even with a prince ſo little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning, that the ſole view of that prince, in making him ſo liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

1516. WHILE an univerſal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had ſo long been looked for, and from which ſuch important conſequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the ſucceſſion of his grandſon, Charles, to his extenſive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority,

[a] Guicciardini, lib. 12.

the

the more was Francis ſenſible of the neceſſity he himſelf lay under of gaining the confidence and friendſhip of Henry; and he took at laſt the only method by which he could obtain ſucceſs, the paying of court, by preſents and flattery, to the haughty cardinal. CHAP. XXVIII. 1516.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was diſpatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his inſinuation and addreſs, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himſelf a place in Wolſey's good graces. After the ambaſſador had ſucceeded in his purpoſe, he took an opportunity of expreſſing his maſter's regret, that, by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a friendſhip which he ſo much valued as that of his eminence. Wolſey was not deaf to theſe honourable advances from ſo great a monarch; and he was thenceforth obſerved to expreſs himſelf, on all occaſions, in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his intereſts, Francis entered into ſuch confidence with him, that he aſked his advice even in his moſt ſecret affairs; and had recourſe to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wiſdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no ſecret to the king of this private correſpondence; and Henry was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the great capacity of his miniſter, that, he ſaid, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himſelf[p]. 1518.

When matters ſeemed ſufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his maſter's deſire of recovering Tournay; and Wolſey immediately, without heſitation, engaged to effect his purpoſe. He took an opportunity of repreſenting to the king and council, that Tournay lay ſo remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, in caſe of war, to keep the communication open between theſe two places: That as

[p] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

it

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it was situated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the first assailant: That, even in time of peace, it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: And that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occasion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

Tournay ceded to France.

These reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article[q]: And, lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, Francis promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

The French monarch having succeeded so well in this negociation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on the vanity

[q] Memoires du Bellay, lib. 1.

and

and self-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter *father*, *tutor*, *governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All these caresses were preparatives to a negociation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and, if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment, and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary a proposal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: He was content to sound privately the opinion of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom[r]: But when he found that all men were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and as he fell, soon after, into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

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The pride of Wolsey was now farther encreased by a great accession of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built so many interested projects, that it had lost all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope, that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legantine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even

Wolsey appointed legate.

[r] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

with

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with ſuſpending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolſey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new diſplay of that ſtate and parade to which he was ſo much addicted. On ſolemn feaſt-days, he was not content without ſaying maſs after the manner of the pope himſelf: Not only he had biſhops and abbots to ſerve him; he even engaged the firſt nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank ſuperior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having written him a letter, in which he ſubſcribed himſelf *your loving brother*, Wolſey complained of his preſumption, in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. "Know ye not," ſaid he, "that this man is drunk with "too much proſperity?"

His manner of exerciſing that office.

But Wolſey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and oſtentation. He erected an office, which he called the legantine court; and as he was now, by means of the pope's commiſſion and the king's favour, inveſted with all power, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be ſet to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquiſitorial and cenſorial powers even over the laity, and directed it to enquire into all matters of conſcience; into all conduct which had given ſcandal; into all actions which, though they eſcaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commiſſion, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more diſguſted, when they ſaw a man who indulged himſelf in pomp and pleaſure, ſo ſevere in repreſſing the leaſt appearance of licentiouſneſs in others. But, to render his court more obnoxious, Wolſey made one John Allen judge in it, a perſon of ſcandalous life [a], whom he him-

[a] Stype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

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ſelf, as chancellor, had, it is ſaid, condemned for perjury: And as it is pretended, that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleaſed to find guilty, or took bribes to drop proſecutions, men concluded, and with ſome appearance of reaſon, that he ſhared with the cardinal thoſe wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were expoſed to this tyranny; and as the libertiniſm of their lives often gave a juſt handle againſt them, they were obliged to purchaſe an indemnity, by paying large ſums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolſey pretended, by virtue of his commiſſion, to aſſume the juriſdiction of all the biſhops' courts; particularly that of judging of Wills and Teſtaments; and his deciſions in thoſe important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himſelf were pope, and as if the pope could abſolutely diſpoſe of every eccleſiaſtical preferment, he preſented to whatever priories or benefices he pleaſed, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry [t].

No one durſt carry to the king any complaint againſt theſe uſurpations of Wolſey, till Warham ventured to inform him of the diſcontents of his people. Henry profeſſed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man," ſaid he, "is not ſo blind any where as in his own houſe: "But do you, farther," added he to the primate, "go to "Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs, that "he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual: It only ſerved to augment Wolſey's enmity to Warham: But one London having proſecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having

[t] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narrative has been copied by all the hiſtorians from the author here cited: There are many circumſtances, however, very ſuſpicious both becauſe of the obvious partiality of the hiſtorian, and becauſe the parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolſey's conduct, could find no proof of any material offence he had ever committed.

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convicted him of malverſation and iniquity, the clamour at laſt reached the king's ears; and he expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

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1519. WHILE Henry, indulging himſelf in pleaſure and amuſement, entruſted the government of his kingdom to this imperious miniſter, an incident happened abroad, which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor died; a man who, of himſelf, was indeed of little conſequence; but as his death left vacant the firſt ſtation among chriſtian princes, it ſet the paſſions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of æra in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the Imperial crown; and employed every expedient of money or intrigue, which promiſed them ſucceſs in ſo great a point of ambition. Henry alſo was encouraged to advance his pretenſions; but his miniſter, Pace, who was diſpatched to the electors, found that he began to ſolicit too late, and that the votes of all theſe princes were already pre-engaged either on one ſide or the other.

12th Jan. Death of the emperor Maximilian

FRANCIS and Charles made profeſſion from the beginning of carrying on this rivalſhip with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs: The more fortunate, added he, will carry her; the other muſt reſt contented [u]. But all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reaſonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to ſharpen the minds of the candidates againſt each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great diſguſt of the French monarch, who ſtill continued to the laſt in the belief, that the ma-

Charles, king of Spain, choſen emperor.

[u] Balcaria, lib. 26. Guicciardini, lib. 13.

jority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was ſome years ſuperior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conqueſt of the Milaneſe, much ſuperior in renown, he could not ſuppreſs his indignation, at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, diſappointed in ſo important a pretenſion. From this competition, as much as from oppoſition of intereſts, aroſe that emulation between thoſe two great monarchs; which, while it kept their whole age in movement, ſets them in ſo remarkable a contraſt to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aſpiring, active, warlike; beloved by their ſervants and ſubjects, dreaded by their enemies, and reſpected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying theſe virtues to an exceſs which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, cloſe, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain ſucceſs in wars and in negociations, eſpecially the latter. The one, the more amiable man; the other, the greater monarch. The king, from his overſights, and indiſcretions, naturally expoſed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his ſpirit and magnanimity, to extricate himſelf from them with honour: The emperor, by his deſigning, intereſted character, fitted, in his greateſt ſucceſſes, to excite jealouſy and oppoſition even among his allies, and to rouze up a multitude of enemies, in the place of one whom he had ſubdued. And as the perſonal qualities of theſe princes thus counterpoiſed each other, ſo did the advantages and diſadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a ſudden, ſo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the ſucceſſion of Caſtile, of Arragon, of Auſtria, of the Netherlands: He inherited the conqueſt of Naples, of Granada: Election entitled him to the empire: Even the

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1519. bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between all the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

HENRY possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

1520. Interview between Henry and Francis at Calais.

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview near Calais: in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendor, and his influence over both monarchs[w]. And as Henry himself

[w] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

loved

loved ſhow and magnificence, and had entertained a curioſity of being perſonally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjuſted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expence: Many of them involved themſelves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain ſplendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was ſomewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this feſtival amount to immenſe ſums, threw out ſome expreſſions of diſpleaſure againſt the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that meaſure [z]. An imprudence which was not forgotten by this miniſter. CHAP. XXVIII. 1520.

WHILE Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately haſtened thither with the queen, in order to give a ſuitable reception to his royal gueſt. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehenſive of the conſequences, and was reſolved to take the opportunity, in his paſſage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king ſtill a higher compliment, by paying him a viſit in his own dominions. Beſides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he ſtrove, by every teſtimony of friendſhip, by flattery, proteſtations, promiſes, and preſents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here inſtilled into this aſpiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the ſole point of elevation beyond his preſent greatneſs, it was ſure to attract his wiſhes with the ſame ardour, as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her preſents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's aſſiſtance, he ſecretly devoted himſelf to that monarch's inte- The emperor Charles arrives in England. 25th May.

[z] Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Herbert. Hollingſhed, p. 855.

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terests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises, because Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely that, for many years, he should be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship payed to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity; and believed, that, as his favour was Wolsey's sole support, the obeisance of such mighty monarchs to his servant, was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

30th May.

The day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale: For Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had entrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance, in order to do honour to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expence, as procured to the place of interview the name of *the field of the cloth of gold.*

The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and they held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry King:* These were the first words; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words *of England*, without adding, *France*, the usual style of

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of the English monarchs[y]. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed, by a ſmile, his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity ſoon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himſelf, and incapable of diſtruſting others, was ſhocked at all the precautions which were obſerved, whenever he had an interview with the Engliſh monarch: The number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both ſides: Every ſtep was ſcrupulouſly meaſured and adjuſted: And if the two kings intended to pay a viſit to the queens, they departed from their reſpective quarters at the ſame inſtant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they paſſed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh at Guiſnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained ſo many diſhonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guiſnes. The guards were ſurpriſed at the preſence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my priſoners: Carry me to your maſter.* Henry was equally aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," ſaid he, "you "have here played me the moſt agreeable trick in the "world, and have ſhowed me the full confidence I may "place in you: I ſurrender myſelf your priſoner from "this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels[z]; and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made him a preſent, and which was

[y] Memoires de Fleuranges.

[z] An angel was then eſtimated at ſeven ſhillings, or near twelve of our preſent money.

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double in value to the collar[a]. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully eſtabliſhed between the monarchs, they employed the reſt of the time entirely in tournaments and feſtivals.

A DEFIANCE had been ſent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to anſwer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horſeback, Francis ſurrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with thoſe of Francis. They were gorgeouſly apparelled; and were both of them the moſt comely perſonages of their age, as well as the moſt expert in every military exerciſe. They carried away the prize at all trials in thoſe rough and dangerous paſtimes; and ſeveral horſes and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in theſe feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a ſpacious houſe of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feaſted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an Engliſh archer embroidered on it, *Cui adhæreo præeſt*; *He prevails whom I favour*[b]: Expreſſing his own ſituation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In theſe entertainments, more than in any ſerious buſineſs, did the two kings paſs their time, till their departure.

24th June. HENRY paid then a viſit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and paſs ſome days in that fortreſs,

[a] Memoires de Fleuranges. [b] Mezeray.

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The artful and politic Charles here completed the impreſſion, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the houſe of Auſtria began ſenſibly to take the aſcendant over the French monarchy, the intereſts of England required, that ſome ſupport ſhould be given to the latter, and above all, that any important wars ſhould be prevented, which might beſtow on either of them a deciſive ſuperiority over the other. But the jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt France has uſually prevented a cordial union between theſe nations: And Charles, ſenſible of this hereditary animoſity, and deſirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur), that he ſhould be entirely arbiter in any diſpute or difference that might ariſe between the monarchs. But the maſterpiece of Charles's politics was the ſecuring of Wolſey in his intereſts, by very important ſervices, and ſtill higher promiſes. He renewed aſſurances of aſſiſting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in preſent poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to the ſees of Badajox and Palencia in Caſtile. The acquiſitions of Wolſey were now become ſo exorbitant, that, joined to the penſions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to poſſeſs, his revenues were computed nearly equal to thoſe which belonged to the crown itſelf; and he ſpent them with a magnificence, or rather an oſtentation, which gave general offence to the people; and even leſſened his maſter in the eyes of all foreign nations[c].

War between Charles and Francis.

The violent perſonal emulation and political jealouſy, which had taken place between the emperor and the French king, ſoon broke out in hoſtilities. But while

[c] Polydore Virgil. Hall.

theſe

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these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negociate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprized of the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province, which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom: And he demanded to be freed from the homage, which his ancestors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting these terms, the congress of Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He stipulated, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

Mediation of Henry.

24th Nov.

THE

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The people ſaw every day new inſtances of the uncontrouled authority of this miniſter. The duke of Buckingham, conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given diſguſt to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reaſon to repent of his indiſcretion. He ſeems to have been a man full of levity and raſh projects; and being infatuated with judicial aſtrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthuſian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was deſcended by a female from the duke of Gloceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward III.; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been ſo unguarded as to let fall ſome expreſſions, as if he thought himſelf beſt intitled, in caſe the king ſhould die without iſſue, to poſſeſs the royal dignity. He had not even abſtained from threats againſt the king's life, and had provided himſelf with arms, which he intended to employ, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord ſteward, in order to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. The jury conſiſted of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict againſt Buckingham, which was ſoon after carried into execution. There is no reaſon to think the ſentence unjuſt[d]; but as Buckingham's crimes ſeemed to proceed more from indiſcretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their diſappointment to the animoſity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealouſy,

Trial and condemnation of the duke of Buckingham.

[d] Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 513. Hollingſhed, p. 862.

however,

CHAP. XXVIII. 1512. however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

CHAP. XXIX.

Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate——Origin of the reformation——Martin Luther——Henry receives the title of defender of the faith——Cauſes of the progreſs of the reformation——War with France——Invaſion of France——War with Scotland——A parliament——Invaſion of France——Italian wars——The king of France invades Italy——Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis——Francis recovers his liberty——Sack of Rome——League with France.

CHAP. XXIX. 1528.

DURING ſome years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with thoſe religious controverſies, which produced the reformation, one of the greateſt events in hiſtory: But as it was not till this time, that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occaſion to give any account of its riſe and progreſs. It will now be neceſſary to explain theſe theological diſputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin thoſe abuſes which ſo generally diffuſed the opinion, that a reformation of the church, or eccleſiaſtical order, was become highly expedient, if not abſolutely neceſſary. We ſhall be better enabled to comprehend the ſubject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reaſons, why there muſt be an eccleſiaſtical order, and a public eſtabliſhment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the preſent occaſion will, I hope, excuſe this ſhort digreſſion.

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1521. Digreſſion concerning the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Most of the arts and profeſſions in a ſtate are of ſuch a nature, that, while they promote the intereſts of the ſociety, they are alſo uſeful or agreeable to ſome individuals; and in that caſe, the conſtant rule of the magiſtrate, except, perhaps, on the firſt introduction of any art, is, to leave the profeſſion to itſelf, and truſt its encouragement to thoſe who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to riſe by the favour of their cuſtomers, encreaſe, as much as poſſible, their ſkill and induſtry; and as matters are not diſturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always ſure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are alſo ſome callings, which, though uſeful and even neceſſary in a ſtate, bring no particular advantage or pleaſure to any individual; and the ſupreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of thoſe profeſſions. It muſt give them public encouragement in order to their ſubſiſtence; and it muſt provide againſt that negligence, to which they will naturally be ſubject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profeſſion, by eſtabliſhing a long ſubordination of ranks and a ſtrict dependance, or by ſome other expedient. The perſons, employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magiſtracy, are inſtances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at firſt ſight, that the eccleſiaſtics belong to the firſt claſs, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and phyſicians, may ſafely be entruſted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or conſolation from their ſpiritual miniſtry and aſſiſtance. Their induſtry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by ſuch an additional motive; and their ſkill in the profeſſion, as well as their addreſs in governing the minds of the people, muſt receive daily encreaſe, from their encreaſing practice, ſtudy, and attention.

But

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But if we conſider the matter more cloſely, we ſhall find, that this intereſted diligence of the clergy is what every wiſe legiſlator will ſtudy to prevent; becauſe in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infuſing into it a ſtrong mixture of ſuperſtition, folly, and deluſion. Each ghoſtly practitioner, in order to render himſelf more precious and ſacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inſpire them with the moſt violent abhorrence of all other ſects, and continually endeavour, by ſome novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that beſt ſuits the diſorderly affections of the human frame. Cuſtomers will be drawn to each conventicle by new induſtry and addreſs, in practiſing on the paſſions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magiſtrate will find, that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality, in ſaving a fixed eſtabliſhment for the prieſts; and that in reality the moſt decent and advantageous compoſition, which he can make with the ſpiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by aſſigning ſtated ſalaries to their profeſſion, and rendering it ſuperfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to prevent their flock from ſtraying in queſt of new paſtures. And in this manner eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, though commonly they aroſe at firſt from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political intereſts of ſociety.

But we may obſerve, that few eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments have been fixed upon a worſe foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumſtances more hurtful to the peace and happineſs of mankind.

The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil

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civil magiſtrate, and armed with too extenſive authority an order of men, who always adhere cloſely together, and who never want a plauſible pretence for their encroachments and uſurpations. The higher dignities of the church ſerved, indeed, to the ſupport of gentry and nobility; but by the eſtabliſhment of monaſteries, many of the loweſt vulgar were taken from the uſeful arts, and maintained in thoſe receptacles of ſloth and ignorance. The ſupreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by intereſts, always different from thoſe of the community, ſometimes contrary to them. And as the hierarchy was neceſſarily ſolicitous to preſerve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifeſt riſque of being extinguiſhed; and violent perſecutions, or what was worſe, a ſtupid and abject credulity took place every where.

To encreaſe theſe evils, the church, though ſhe poſſeſſed large revenues, was not contented with her acquiſitions, but retained a power of practiſing farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even beſtowed on each individual prieſt a power of enriching himſelf by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him ſtill an urgent motive for diligence and induſtry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expenſive and burthenſome eſtabliſhment, was liable to many of the inconveniences, which belong to an order of prieſts, truſted entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a ſubſiſtence.

The advantages, attending the Romiſh hierarchy, were but a ſmall compenſation for its inconveniences. The eccleſiaſtical privileges, during barbarous times, had ſerved as a cheque on the deſpotiſm of kings. The union of all the weſtern churches under the ſupreme pontiff facilitated the intercourſe of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a cloſe connection with each other. And the pomp and ſplendor of worſhip which belonged to ſo opulent

opulent an eſtabliſhment, contributed, in ſome reſpect, to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuſe a general elegance of taſte, by uniting it with religion. CHAP. XXIX. 1521.

IT will eaſily be conceived, that, though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romiſh church, this was not the chief reaſon which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents muſt have contributed to forward that great revolution.

LEO X. by his generous and enterprizing temper, had much exhauſted his treaſury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to ſupport his projects, pleaſures, and liberalities. The ſcheme of ſelling indulgences was ſuggeſted to him, as an expedient, which had often ſerved in former times, to draw money from the Chriſtian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was ſuppoſed, was poſſeſſed of a great ſtock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the ſaints, beyond what were employed in their own juſtification; and even to the merits of Chriſt himſelf, which were infinite and unbounded: And from this unexhauſted treaſury, the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purpoſes, in reſiſting the infidels, or ſubduing ſchiſmatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was uſually diverted to other purpoſes[e]. Origin of the reformation.

IT is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falſity of the doctrines which, as ſupreme pontiff, he was obliged by his intereſt to promote: It is the leſs wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit thoſe pious

[e] Father Paul and Sleidan.

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frauds which his predeceſſors, the moſt ignorant and credulous, had always, under plauſible pretences, made uſe of for their ſelfiſh purpoſes. He publiſhed the ſale of a general indulgence[f]; and as his expences had not only exhauſted his uſual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the ſeveral branches of it were openly given away to particular perſons, who were entitled to levy the impoſition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was aſſigned to his ſiſter Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent VIII.; and ſhe, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoeſe, once a merchant, now a biſhop, who ſtill retained all the lucrative arts of his former profeſſion[g]. The Auſtin friars had uſually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration: But Arcemboldi, fearing, leſt practice might have taught them means to ſecrete the money[h], and expecting no extraordinary ſucceſs from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. Theſe monks, in order to prove themſelves worthy of the diſtinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the moſt unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head, which, though not more ridiculous than thoſe already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people[i]. To add to the ſcandal, the collectors of this revenue are ſaid to have lived very licentious lives, and to have ſpent in taverns, gaming-houſes, and places ſtill more infamous, the money which devout perſons had ſaved from their uſual expences, in order to purchaſe a remiſſion of their ſins[k].

[f] In 1517. [g] Father Paul, Sleidan. [h] Father Paul, lib. 1.
[i] See note [A] at the end of the volume. [k] Father Paul, lib. 1.

ALL

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ALL theſe circumſtances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not ariſen a man, qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Auſtin friar, profeſſor in the univerſity of Wittemberg, reſenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach againſt theſe abuſes in the ſale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by oppoſition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themſelves; and was thence carried, by the heat of diſpute, to queſtion the authority of the pope, from which his adverſaries derived their chief arguments againſt him[1]. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to ſupport theſe tenets, he diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, diſcourſe, ſermon, conference; and daily encreaſed the number of his diſciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, rouſed from that lethargy, in which they had ſo long ſleeped, began to call in queſtion the moſt ancient and moſt received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal juriſdiction: The republic of Zuric even reformed their church according to the new model: Many ſovereigns of the empire, and the imperial diet itſelf, ſhowed a favourable diſpoſition towards it: And Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promiſes of advancement, or terrors of ſeverity, to relinquiſh a ſect of which he was himſelf the founder, and which brought him a glory, ſuperior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

Martin Luther.

[1] Father Paul, Sleidan.

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The rumour of theſe innovations ſoon reached England; and as there ſtill ſubſiſted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whoſe principles reſembled thoſe of Luther, the new doctrines ſecretly gained many partizans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a ſtrict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice againſt Luther, who, in his writings, ſpoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: He oppoſed himſelf, therefore, to the progreſs of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extenſive and almoſt abſolute authority conferred upon him: He even undertook to combat them with weapons not uſually employed by monarchs, eſpecially thoſe in the flower of their age, and force of their paſſions. He wrote a book in Latin againſt the principles of Luther; a performance, which, if allowance be made for the ſubject and the age, does no diſcredit to his capacity. He ſent a copy of it to Leo, who received ſo magnificent a preſent with great teſtimony of regard; and conferred on him the title of *defender of the faith*; an appellation ſtill retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controverſy, ſoon publiſhed an anſwer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagoniſt, treated him with all the acrimony of ſtile to which, in the courſe of his polemics, he had ſo long been accuſtomed. The king, by this ill uſage, was ſtill more prejudiced againſt the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the diſpute[m]. And as the controverſy became more illuſtrious by Henry's entering the liſts, it drew ſtill more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

Henry receives the title of defender of the faith.

[m] Father Paul, lib. 1.

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1521. Cauſes of the progreſs of the reformation.

THE quick and ſurpriſing progreſs of this bold ſect, may juſtly in part be aſcribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: Not that reaſon bore any conſiderable ſhare in opening men's eyes with regard to the impoſtures of the Romiſh church: For of all branches of literature, philoſophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the moſt inconſiderable progreſs; neither is there any inſtance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of abſurdity, with which ſuperſtition has every where overwhelmed them: Not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove ſufficiently, that it owed not its ſucceſs to reaſon and reflection. The art of printing, and the revival of learning, forwarded its progreſs in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his ſectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, ſomewhat awakened from a profound ſleep of ſo many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and ſcrupled leſs to tread in any unuſual path which was opened to them. And as copies of the Scriptures and other ancient monuments of the chriſtian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the firſt centuries; and though argument and reaſoning could not give conviction, an hiſtorical fact, well ſupported, was able to make impreſſion on their underſtandings. Many of the powers, indeed, aſſumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almoſt every political government eſtabliſhed in Europe: But as the eccleſiaſtics would not agree to poſſeſs their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed ſtill to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they

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1521. they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

In order to beſtow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not ſatisfied with oppoſing the pretended divinity of the Romiſh church, and diſplaying the temporal inconveniencies of that eſtabliſhment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their anceſtors as abominable, deteſtable, damnable; foretold by ſacred writ itſelf as the ſource of all wickedneſs and pollution. They denominated the pope antichriſt, called his communion the ſcarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expreſſions which, however applied, were to be found in Scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the moſt ſolid arguments. Excited by conteſt and perſecution on the one hand, by ſucceſs and applauſe on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greateſt extremities their oppoſition to the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied ſuperſtitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion, which admitted of no obſervances, rites, or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a myſterious ſpecies of faith, in inward viſion, rapture, and ecſtacy. The new ſectaries, ſeized with this ſpirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and ſet at defiance all the anathemas and puniſhments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection againſt the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable, in ſome reſpect, to the temporal authority of ſovereigns. They inveighed againſt the abuſes of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally diſcontented; and they exhorted princes to reinſtate themſelves in thoſe powers,

of

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of which the encroaching ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics, eſpecially of the ſovereign pontiff, had ſo long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monaſtic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to thoſe who were either tired of the obedience and chaſtity, or diſguſted with the licence in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the exceſſive riches, the idleneſs, the libertiniſm of the clergy; and pointed out their treaſures and revenues as lawful ſpoil to the firſt invader. And as the eccleſiaſtics had hitherto conducted a willing and a ſtupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controverſy, much more with every ſpecies of true literature; they were unable to defend themſelves againſt men, armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romiſh hierarchy; and ſuch were the cauſes of their rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. 1521.

Leo X. whoſe overſights, and too ſupine truſt in the profound ignorance of the people, had given riſe to this ſect, but whoſe ſound judgment, moderation, and temper, were well qualified to retard its progreſs, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book againſt Luther; and he was ſucceeded in the papal chair, by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and ſimplicity of manners which diſtinguiſhed his character; but, ſo violent were their prejudices againſt the church, he rather hurt the cauſe by his imprudent exerciſe of thoſe virtues. He frankly confeſſed, that many abominable and deteſtable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and, by this ſincere avowal, he gave occaſion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff alſo, whoſe penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was ſeduced to 1st Decemb.

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concur in that league, which Charles and Henry had formed againſt France [n]; and he thereby augmented the ſcandal, occaſioned by the practice of ſo many preceding popes, who ſtill made their ſpiritual arms ſubſervient to political purpoſes.

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THE emperor, who knew that Wolſey had received a diſappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the reſentment of that haughty miniſter, was ſolicitous to repair the breach made in their friendſhip by this incident. He paid another viſit to England; and, beſides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolſey all the promiſes which he had made him, of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal throne. Wolſey, ſenſible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promiſed a ſpeedy vacancy, diſſembled his reſentment, and was willing to hope for a more proſperous iſſue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which ſome articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolſey for the revenue, which they ſhould loſe by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions; and he himſelf was inſtalled knight of the garter at London. After a ſtay of ſix weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he ſoon pacified the tumults which had ariſen in his abſence [o].

26th May.

War with France.

THE king declared war againſt France; and this meaſure was founded on ſo little reaſon, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refuſal to ſubmit to his arbitration, and his ſending Albany into Scotland. This laſt ſtep had not been taken

[n] Guicciardini, lib. 14. [o] Petrus de Angleria, epiſt. 765.

by

by the French king, till he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Britanny, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers, than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral; and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army, destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to 18,000 men. CHAP. XXIII. 1522.

Invasion of France.

The French had made it a maxim in almost all their wars with the English, since the reign of Charles V. never, without great necessity, to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Teroüenne, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: He himself took post at Abbeville, with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: The count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw supply into any town that was threatened; and to harass the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, first divided his troops for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid siege to Hedin. But neither did he succeed in this enterprize. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army: The French forces assaulted him from without: Great rains fell: Fatigue and bad weather threw the

soldiers

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ſoldiers into dyſenteries: And Surrey was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter-quarters about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or ſix hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him maſter of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more ſucceſsful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, loſt a great battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not ſupplying Lautrec with money [p], was followed by the loſs of Genoa. The caſtle of Cremona was the ſole fortreſs in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

Europe was now in ſuch a ſituation, and ſo connected by different alliances and intereſts, that it was almoſt impoſſible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuſe itſelf throughout the whole: But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the cloſeſt was that which had ſo long ſubſiſted between France and Scotland; and the Engliſh, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmoleſted on the northern frontier. No ſooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took meaſures for kindling a war with England; and he ſummoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Roſline [q]. He thence conducted the army ſouthwards into Annandale; and prepared to paſs the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were diſguſted with the regent's adminiſtration; and obſerving that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in compariſon of thoſe which he maintained with France, they murmured, that, for the ſake of foreign intereſts, their peace ſhould ſo often be diſturbed, and war, during

War with Scotland.

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 14. [q] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond, Pinkertie.

their

their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, ſo much ſuperior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refuſed to advance any farther; and Albany, obſerving a general diſcontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the Engliſh weſt marches. Soon after, he departed for France; and, leſt the oppoſite faction ſhould gather force in his abſence, he ſent thither before him the earl of Angus, huſband to the queen dowager. CHAP. XXIX. 1522.

Next year, Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's abſence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merſe and Teviotdale without oppoſition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: The two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner baniſhed: No nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to aſſume the government: And the Engliſh monarch, who knew the diſtreſſed ſituation of the country, determined to puſh them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the ſenſe of their preſent weakneſs, to make a ſolemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England[r]. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heireſs of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms[s]: And the queen dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They ſaid, that the intereſt of Scotland had too long been ſacrificed to thoſe of the French nation, who, whenever they found themſelves reduced to difficulties, called for the aſſiſtance of their allies; but were 1523.

[r] Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert. [s] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

ready

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ready to abandon them, as ſoon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: That where a ſmall ſtate entered into ſo cloſe a confederacy with a greater, it muſt always expect this treatment, as a conſequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumſtances in the ſituation of the kingdoms, which, in the preſent caſe, rendered it inevitable: That France was ſo diſtant and ſo divided from them by ſea, that ſhe ſcarcely could, by any means, and never could in time, ſend ſuccours to the Scots, ſufficient to protect them againſt ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: That nature had, in a manner, formed an alliance between the two Britiſh nations; having encloſed them in the ſame iſland; given them the ſame manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: And that, if national antipathies were aboliſhed, which would ſoon be the effect of peace, theſe two kingdoms, ſecured by the ocean and by their domeſtic force, could ſet at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever ſafe and unmoleſted.

The partizans of the French alliance, on the other hand, ſaid, that the very reaſons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its ſuperior force, were the real cauſes, why a ſincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hoſtile nation: That among neighbouring ſtates occaſions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be ſure to ſeize every frivolous pretence for oppreſſing the weaker, and reducing it to ſubjection: That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almoſt perpetual between them, it was the intereſt of the Scots, if they wiſhed to maintain their independence, to preſerve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: That

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if they deſerted that old and ſalutary alliance on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, ſtimulated both by intereſt and by paſſion, would ſoon invade them with ſuperior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: Or if they delayed the attack, the inſidious peace, by making the Scots forget the uſe of arms, would only prepare the way for a ſlavery more certain and more irretrievable[a].

The arguments employed by the French party, being ſeconded by the natural prejudices of the people, ſeemed moſt prevalent: And when the regent himſelf, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the Engliſh fleet, at laſt appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that ſide. By authority of the convention of ſtates, he aſſembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the Engliſh in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them ſouthwards towards the borders. But when they were paſſing the Tweed at the bridge of Melroſs, the Engliſh party raiſed again ſuch oppoſition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp oppoſite to Werk-Caſtle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He ſent over ſome troops to beſiege this fortreſs, who made a breach in it, and ſtormed ſome of the outworks: But the regent, hearing of the approach of an Engliſh army, and diſcouraged by the advanced ſeaſon, thought proper to diſband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after, he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottiſh nation, agitated by their domeſtic factions, were not, during ſeveral years, in a condition to give any more diſturbance to England; and Henry had full leiſure to proſecute his deſigns on the continent.

[a] Buchanan, lib. 14.

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THE reaſon why the war againſt France proceeded ſo ſlowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treaſures of Henry VII. were long ago diſſipated; the king's habits of expence ſtill remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterprizes. He had laſt year cauſed a general ſurvey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profeſſion, ſtock, revenue[t]; and expreſſed great ſatisfaction on finding the nation ſo opulent. He then iſſued privy ſeals to the moſt wealthy, demanding loans of particular ſums: This act of power, though ſomewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practiſed by kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry, this year, carried his authority much farther. He publiſhed an edict for a general tax upon his ſubjects, which he ſtill called a loan; and he levied five ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, two ſhillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's impoſing taxes without conſent of parliament.

25th April. A parliament.

HENRY ſoon after ſummoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a diſpoſition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolſey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their example would influence the parliament to grant a large ſupply. He demanded a moiety of the eccleſiaſtical revenues to be levied in five years, or two ſhillings in the pound during that time; and though he met with oppoſition, he reprimanded the refractory members in ſuch ſevere terms, that his requeſt

t Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

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was at laſt complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and prelates, came to the houſe of commons; and, in a long and elaborate ſpeech, laid before them the public neceſſities, the danger of an invaſion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000 pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a ſum computed, from the late ſurvey or valuation, to be equal to four ſhillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one ſhilling in the pound yearly, according to the diviſion propoſed[u]. So large a grant was unuſual from the commons; and though the cardinal's demand was ſeconded by Sir Thomas More, the ſpeaker, and ſeveral other members attached to the court, the houſe could not be prevailed with to comply[w]. They only voted two ſhillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one ſhilling on all who poſſeſſed between twenty pounds and forty ſhillings a year; and on the other ſubjects above ſixteen years of age, a groat a-head. This laſt ſum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not, therefore, at the utmoſt, above ſix-pence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the ſum demanded; and the cardinal, therefore, much mortified with the diſappointment, came again to the houſe, and deſired to reaſon with ſuch as refuſed to comply with the king's requeſt. He was told, that it was a rule of the houſe never to reaſon but among themſelves; and his deſire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted

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[u] This ſurvey or valuation is liable to much ſuſpicion, as fixing the rents a great deal too high; unleſs the ſum comprehend the revenues of all kinds, induſtry as well as land and money.

[w] Herbert. Stowe, 518. Parliamentary Hiſtory. Strype, vol. i. p. 49, 50.

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an impoſition of three ſhillings in the pound on all poſſeſſed of fifty pounds a year and upwards[x]. The proceedings of this houſe of commons evidently diſcover the humour of the times: They were extremely tenacious of their money, and refuſed a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreaſonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to paſs uncenſured, though its direct tendency was to ſubvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was ſo diſſatisfied with this ſaving diſpoſition of the commons, that, as he had not called a parliament during ſeven years before, he allowed ſeven more to elapſe before he ſummoned another: And, on pretence of neceſſity, he levied, in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years[y]; a new invaſion of national privileges. Theſe irregularities were commonly aſcribed to the cardinal's counſels, who, truſting to the protection afforded him by his eccleſiaſtical character, was the leſs ſcrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

THAT ambitious prelate received this year a new diſappointment in his aſpiring views. The pope, Adrian VI. died; and Clement VII. of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolſey could now perceive the inſincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal chair. As he highly reſented this injury, he began thenceforth to eſtrange himſelf from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his maſter and the French king. Meanwhile, he concealed his diſguſt; and, after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legantine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, know-

[x] See note [B] at the end of the volume.

[y] Speed. Hall. Herbert.

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ing the importance of gaining his friendſhip, granted him a commiſſion for life; and, by this unuſual conceſſion, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In ſome particulars Wolſey made a good uſe of this extenſive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipſwich, the place of his nativity: He ſought, all over Europe, for learned men to ſupply the chairs of theſe colleges: And, in order to beſtow endowments on them, he ſuppreſſed ſome ſmaller monaſteries, and diſtributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the leſs difficult for him, becauſe the Romiſh church began to perceive that ſhe overabounded in monks, and that ſhe wanted ſome ſupply of learning, in order to oppoſe the inquiſitive, or rather diſputative humour of the reformers.

THE confederacy againſt France ſeemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign [z]. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to deſert the French alliance, and to form engagements for ſecuring Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy combined in the ſame meaſure. The emperor, in perſon, menaced France with a powerful invaſion on the ſide of Guienne: The forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy: A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy: But all theſe perils from foreign enemies were leſs threatening than a domeſtic conſpiracy which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, againſt the French monarch.

CHARLES, duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, was a prince of the moſt ſhining merit; and, beſides diſtin-

[z] Guicciardini, lib. 14.

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guiſhing himſelf in many military enterprizes, he was adorned with every accompliſhment which became a perſon of his high ſtation. His virtues, embelliſhed with the graces of youth, had made ſuch impreſſion on Louiſe of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, ſhe made him propoſals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulſe, ſhe formed ſchemes of unrelenting vengeance againſt him. She was a woman falſe, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was conſiderable, acquired an abſolute aſcendant over her ſon. By her inſtigation Francis put many affronts on the conſtable, which it was difficult for a gallant ſpirit to endure; and, at laſt, he permitted Louiſe to proſecute a lawſuit againſt him, by which, on the moſt frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample poſſeſſions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all theſe indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could juſtify a man in rebelling againſt his prince and country, he muſt ſtand acquitted, had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor and the king of England [a]. Francis, pertinacious in his purpoſe of recovering the Milaneſe, had intended to lead his army in perſon into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned ſickneſs, in order to have a pretence for ſtaying behind, purpoſed, as ſoon as the king ſhould have paſſed the Alps, to raiſe an inſurrection among his numerous vaſſals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his deſign; but, as he was not expeditious enough in ſecuring ſo dangerous a foe, the conſtable made his eſcape [b]; and, entering into the emperor's ſervice, employed all the force of his enterprizing

[a] Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2. [b] Belcarius, lib. 17.

ſpirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country. CHAP. XXIX.

THE king of England, deſirous that Francis ſhould undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invaſion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the Engliſh forces, paſſed over to Calais. He was attended by the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen[c]. The Engliſh army, reinforced by ſome troops, drawn from the garriſon of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and, having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invaſion of France. The ſiege of Boulogne was firſt propoſed; but that enterprize appearing difficult, it was thought more adviſeable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infeſted the allied army in their march, and threw garriſons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coaſting the Somme, and paſſing Hedin, Montreüil, Dourlens, the Engliſh and Flemings preſented themſelves before Bray, a place of ſmall force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were reſolved to paſs, and, if poſſible, to take up winter-quarters in France; but Crequi threw himſelf into the town, and ſeemed reſolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and ſucceſs; and when he retreated over the bridge, they purſued him ſo hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but paſſed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they beſieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no oppoſition, they proceeded to the river Oiſe, within ele-

1523. 24th Aug. Invaſion of France.

[c] Herbert.

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ven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great conſternation; till the duke of Vendôme haſtened with ſome forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being ſurrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during ſo advanced a ſeaſon, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned: And the Engliſh and Flemings, without effecting any thing, retired into their reſpective countries.

FRANCE defended herſelf from the other invaſions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thouſand Lanſquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furſtenberg. The count of Guiſe, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppoſe to them but ſome militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garriſon-towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and ſo haraſſed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guiſe attacked them as they paſſed the Meuſe, put them into diſorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

THE emperor made great preparations on the ſide of Navarre; and though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it ſeemed now expoſed to danger from the powerful invaſion which threatened it. Charles beſieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he, of a ſudden, raiſed the ſiege, and ſat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that ſtratagem, made a ſudden march, and threw himſelf into Bayonne, which he defended with ſuch vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this ſide, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, ſitten down, in the winter ſeaſon, before that city, well fortified and ſtrongly garriſoned. The cowardice or miſconduct of the gover-

nor ſaved him from the ſhame of a new diſappointment. The place was ſurrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finiſhed this enterprize, put his troops into winter-quarters. CHAP. XXIX. 1523.

So obſtinate was Francis in proſecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithſtanding theſe numerous invaſions with which his kingdom was menaced on every ſide, he had determined to lead, in perſon, a powerful army to the conqueſt of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conſpiracy and eſcape ſtopped him at Lyons; and, fearing ſome inſurrection in the kingdom, from the intrigues of a man ſo powerful and ſo much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to ſend forward his army under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The dutchy of Milan had been purpoſely left in a condition ſomewhat defenceleſs, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterprizes of Bourbon; and no ſooner had Bonnivet paſſed the Teſin, than the army of the league, and even Proſper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmoſt confuſion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have opened its gates without reſiſtance: But as he waſted his time in frivolous enterprizes, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garriſon, and to put the place in a poſture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took poſſeſſion of all the poſts which commanded the paſſages to it. But the army of the league, meanwhile, was not unactive; and they ſo ſtraitened and haraſſed the quarters of the French, that it ſeemed more likely the latter ſhould themſelves periſh by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickneſs and fatigue and want had waſted them to ſuch a degree, that they were ready to raiſe the blockade; and Italian wars. 1524.

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1524. their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swiss, which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected. But these mountaineers no sooner came within sight of the French camp, than they stopped from a sudden caprice and resentment; and, instead of joining Bonnivet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company[e]. After this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnivet had no other choice but that of making his retreat, as fast as possible, into France.

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their suspicions were extremely augmented, when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced[f]. They all concluded that he intended to put himself in possession of that important dutchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London, to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply

[e] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.
[f] Guicciardini, lib. 15.

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the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns for the firſt month; after which, he might either chuſe to continue the ſame monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to poſſeſs theſe provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: The reſt of the kingdom to Henry.

THIS chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was moſt eaſily performed: Bourbon refuſed to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprize, however, againſt Provence ſtill took place. A numerous army of Imperialiſts invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Peſcara. They laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which, being weakly garriſoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: But the citizens defended themſelves with ſuch valour and obſtinacy, that Bourbon and Peſcara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themſelves under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and diſheartened, into Italy.

FRANCIS might now have enjoyed, in ſafety, the glory of repulſing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom: But, as he received intelligence that the king of England, diſcouraged by his former fruitleſs enterprizes, and diſguſted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour ſeized him for the conqueſt of Milan; and, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, to lead his army into Italy.

The king of France invades Italy.

HE paſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no ſooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the whole Milaneſe into

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into conſternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and had Francis been ſo fortunate as to
1524. purſue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally diſperſed[5]: But his ill fate led him to beſiege Pavia, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, well garriſoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the braveſt officers in the Spaniſh ſervice. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place, proved fruitleſs. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new retrenchments were inſtantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the courſe of the Teſin, which ran by one ſide of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river deſtroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the ſoldiers, during a long time, and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad ſeaſon (for it was the
1525. depth of winter), had waſted the French army. The imperial generals, meanwhile, were not unactive. Peſcara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, aſſembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his perſonal intereſt, levied a body of twelve thouſand Lanſquenets, with which he joined the imperialiſts. This whole army advanced to raiſe the ſiege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

THE ſtate of Europe was ſuch, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and induſtry every where, except in Italy and the Low-Countries, partly from the extenſive privileges ſtill poſſeſſed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the ſmall armies, which they kept on foot, could not be regularly paid by them. The imperial forces, commanded by Bourbon, Peſcara, and Lannoy, ex-

[5] Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, lib. 2.

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ceeded not twenty thouſand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invaſion of France, either on the ſide of Spain or Flanders). Yet, ſo poor was that mighty monarch, that he could tranſmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of ſharing the plunder of the French camp, which had made them advance, and kept them to their ſtandards. Had Francis raiſed the ſiege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they muſt immediately have diſbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory, without danger or bloodſhed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obſtinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and having once ſaid, that he would take Pavia or periſh before it, he was reſolved rather to endure the utmoſt extremities than depart from this reſolution.

24th Feb. Battle of Pavia, and captivity of Francis.

THE imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for ſeveral days, at laſt made a general aſſault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva ſallied from the town, and encreaſed the confuſion among the beſiegers. The Swiſs infantry, contrary to their uſual practice, behaved in a daſtardly manner, and deſerted their poſt. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himſelf, ſurrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing ſeven men with his own hand, was, at laſt, obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. Almoſt the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either periſhed by the ſword, or were drowned in the river. The few, who eſcaped with their lives, fell into the hands of the enemy.

THE emperor received this news by Pennaloſa, who paſſed through France by means of a ſafe-conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which

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which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and discovered his sense of those calamities to which the greatest monarchs are exposed[h]. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph; and said that he reserved all his exultation till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming moderation was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming schemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words, *Madam, all is lost, except our honour*. The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded on every side by implacable and victorious enemies: And her chief resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes which she entertained of peace, and even of assistance, from the king of England.

Had the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis, were the most fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his schemes effectual. While

[h] Vera Hist. de Carl. V.

the

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the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any deciſive advantage, he might have been able to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome frontier town, or perhaps of a ſmall territory, of which he could not have kept poſſeſſion, without expending much more than its value. By ſome ſignal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of conſiderable provinces, or diſmember that great monarchy, ſo affectionate to its own government and its own ſovereigns. But, as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections ſo far, he was ſtartled at this important event, and became ſenſible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loſs of a proper counterpoiſe to the power of Charles. Inſtead of taking advantage, therefore, of the diſtreſſed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him aſſiſtance in his preſent calamities; and, as the glory of generoſity, in raiſing a fallen enemy, concurred with his political intereſts, he heſitated the leſs in embracing theſe new meaſures.

Henry embraces the alliance of France.

Some diſguſts alſo had previouſly taken place between Charles and Henry, and ſtill more between Charles and Wolſey; and that powerful miniſter waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the diſappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occaſion to revive the king's jealouſy and ſuſpicions. The emperor ſo ill ſupported the appearance of moderation, which he at firſt aſſumed, that he had already changed his uſual ſtyle to Henry; and, inſtead of writing to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribing himſelf *your affectionate ſon and couſin*; he dictated his letters to a ſecretary, and ſimply ſubſcribed himſelf *Charles*[1]. Wolſey alſo perceived a diminution in the careſſes and profeſſions with which the

[1] Guicciardini, lib. 16.

emperor's

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emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this laſt imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of ſucceſs, was probably more dangerous to Charles's intereſts than the other.

HENRY, though immediately determined to embrace new meaſures, was careful to ſave appearances in the change; and he cauſed rejoicings to be every where made, on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis. He publicly diſmiſſed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London[k]: But, upon the regent of France's ſubmiſſive applications to him, he again opened a correſpondence with her; and, beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe that ſhe never would conſent to the diſmembering of any province from the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprize; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he diſpatched Tonſtal, biſhop of London, to Madrid, with propoſals for a powerful invaſion of France. He required that Charles ſhould immediately enter Guienne, at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poſſeſſion of that province; and he demanded the payment of large ſums of money, which that prince had borrowed from him in his laſt viſit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of theſe demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him maſter of ſuch conſiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

TONSTAL, likewiſe, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his maſter that Charles, on his part, urged ſeveral complaints againſt England; and, in particular, was diſpleaſed with Henry, becauſe laſt year he had neither con-

[k] Du Bellay, liv. 3. Stowe, p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

tinued

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tinued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his ſtipulations. Tonſtal added, that, inſtead of expreſſing an intention to eſpouſe Mary when ſhe ſhould be of age, the emperor had hearkened to propoſals for marrying his niece Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal; and that he had entered into a ſeparate treaty with Francis, and ſeemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the ſucceſs with which fortune had crowned his arms.

THE king, influenced by all theſe motives, concluded, at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her ſon his liberty on reaſonable conditions[1]: The regent alſo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſcharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thouſand crowns: After which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand. A large preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns was alſo made to Wolſey, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of Tournay. 30th Aug.

MEANWHILE, Henry, foreſeeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was alſo determined to fill his treaſury by impoſitions upon his own ſubjects; and, as the parliament had diſcovered ſome reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counſel of Wolſey, and reſolved to make uſe of his prerogative alone for that purpoſe. He iſſued commiſſions to all the counties of England for levying four ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, three ſhillings and four pence upon the laity; and ſo uncontroulable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, Diſcontents of the Engliſh.

[1] Du Tillet, Recueil des Traités de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

even

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1525. even under the ſlender pretence of a loan. But he ſoon found that he had preſumed too far on the paſſive ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects. The people, diſpleaſed with an exaction beyond what was uſually levied in thoſe days, and farther diſguſted with the illegal method of impoſing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, oppoſition to the commiſſioners; and their refractory diſpoſition threatened a general inſurrection. Henry had the prudence to ſtop ſhort in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He ſent letters to all the counties; declaring that he meant no force by this laſt impoſition, and that he would take nothing from his ſubjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himſelf that his condeſcenſion, in employing that diſguiſe, would ſatisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himſelf obnoxious to royal authority, by refuſing any payment required of him in this manner. But the ſpirit of oppoſition, once roufed, could not ſo eaſily be quieted at pleaſure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the ſtatute of Richard III. by which benevolences were for ever aboliſhed, it was replied by the court, that Richard, being an uſurper, and his parliament a factious aſſembly, his ſtatutes could not bind a lawful and *abſolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace[m]. The judges even went ſo far as to affirm poſitively, that the king might exact, by commiſſion, any ſum he pleaſed; and the privy council gave a ready aſſent to this decree, which annihilated the moſt valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with ſuch formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolſey ſent for the mayor of London, and deſired to know what he was willing to give for the ſupply of his majeſty's neceſſities. The mayor ſeemed deſirous,

[m] Herbert. Hall.

before

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before he ſhould declare himſelf, to conſult the common council: But the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen ſhould ſeparately confer with himſelf about the benevolence; and he eluded, by that means, the danger of a formed oppoſition. Matters, however, went not ſo ſmoothly in the country. An inſurrection was begun in ſome places; but, as the people were not headed by any conſiderable perſon, it was eaſy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing perſuaſion and authority, to induce the ring-leaders to lay down their arms and ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The king, finding it dangerous to puniſh criminals engaged in ſo popular a cauſe, was determined, notwithſtanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the ſtar-chamber; where, after a ſevere charge brought againſt them by the king's council, the cardinal ſaid, "That, notwithſtanding their grievous offence, the king, "in conſideration of their neceſſities, had granted them "his gracious pardon, upon condition that they would "find ſureties for their future good behaviour." But, they replying that they had no ſureties, the cardinal firſt, and after him the duke of Norfolk, ſaid, that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were diſmiſſed [n].

THESE arbitrary impoſitions being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counſels of the cardinal, encreaſed the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon, being aſcribed to the king, was conſidered as an atonement, on his part, for the illegality of the meaſure. But Wolſey, ſupported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without ſcruple, to violate all

[n] Herbert. Hall. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingſhed, p. 891.

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ecclesiastical privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them an arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission as legate, he was impowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was carried so far that it reached, at last, the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. Wolsey had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster, for his own residence; but, fearing the encrease of envy on account of this magnificence, and, desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of the building, and told him that, from the first, he had erected it for his use.

The absolute authority possessed by the king, rendered his domestic government, both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: The conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to such a situation, that it was no longer safe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of short duration; and it was soon obvious to all the world that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms which he demanded of his prisoner were such as must for ever have annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. These terms were proposed to Francis soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and, as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment

pointment excited in his breaſt the moſt lively indignation. He ſaid, that he would rather live and die a priſoner, than agree to diſmember his kingdom; and that, even were he ſo baſe as to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, his ſubjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

Francis was encouraged to perſiſt in demanding more moderate terms, by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's diſpoſitions towards him, and of the alarm which had ſeized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneaſy, however, to be ſo far diſtant from the emperor, with whom he muſt treat; and he expreſſed his deſire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a perſonal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his miniſters, might be found poſſeſſed of the ſame frankneſs of diſpoſition by which he himſelf was diſtinguiſhed. He was ſoon convinced of his miſtake. Partly from want of exerciſe, partly from reflexions on his preſent melancholy ſituation, he fell into a languiſhing illneſs; which begat apprehenſions in Charles, leſt the death of his captive ſhould bereave him of all thoſe advantages which he purpoſed to extort from him. He then paid him a viſit in the caſtle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the ſick monarch called to him, "You come, Sir, to viſit your priſoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to viſit my brother, and "my friend, who ſhall ſoon obtain his liberty." He ſoothed his afflictions with many ſpeeches of a like nature, which had ſo good an effect, that the king daily recovered*; and thenceforth employed himſelf in concerting with the miniſters of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

Francis removed to Madrid.

* Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

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1526. 14th Jan.

At laſt the emperor, dreading a general combination againſt him, was willing to abate ſomewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was ſigned, by which, it was hoped, an end would be finally put to the differences between theſe great monarchs. The principal condition was the reſtoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages to the emperor for the ceſſion of Burgundy: If any difficulty ſhould afterwards occur in the execution of this laſt article, from the oppoſition of the ſtates either of France or of that province, Francis ſtipulated, that, in ſix weeks time, he ſhould return to his priſon, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them extremely ſevere upon the captive monarch; and Charles diſcovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to ſubjection and dependance.

Many of Charles's miniſters foreſaw that Francis, how ſolemn ſoever the oaths, promiſes, and proteſtations exacted of him, never would execute a treaty ſo diſadvantageous, or rather ruinous and deſtructive, to himſelf, his poſterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: By ſacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himſelf of foreign aſſiſtance; and arming his oppreſſor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him abſolutely irreſiſtible. To theſe great views of intereſt were added the motives, no leſs cogent, of paſſion and reſentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himſelf on generoſity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the ſevere terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was alſo foreſeen, that the emulation and rivalſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between

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theſe two monarchs, would make him feel the ſtrongeſt reluctance on yielding the ſuperiority to an antagoniſt who, by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had ſhewn himſelf ſo little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His miniſters, his friends, his ſubjects, his allies, would be ſure, with one voice, to inculcate on him, that the firſt object of a prince was the preſervation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which, with a private man, ought to be abſolutely ſupreme, and ſuperior to all intereſts, were, with a ſovereign, ſubordinate to the great duty of enſuring the ſafety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be ſo romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a caſuiſtry which was ſo plauſible in itſelf, and which ſo much flattered all the paſſions by which, either as a prince or a man, he was ſtrongly actuated.

18th March. Francis recovers his liberty.

FRANCIS, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud ſeveral times, *I am yet a king*. He ſoon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry; acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and proteſting that he ſhould be entirely governed by his counſels in all tranſactions with the emperor. When the Spaniſh envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the propoſal, under colour that it was previouſly neceſſary to aſſemble the States both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their conſent. The States of Burgundy ſoon met; and declaring againſt the clauſe which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expreſſed

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1526. their reſolution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The Imperial miniſter then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould now return to his priſon; but the French monarch, inſtead of complying, made public the treaty which, a little before, he had ſecretly
22d May. concluded at Cognac, againſt the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor[p].

THE pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted in theſe events, had been held in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to the reſolutions which Francis ſhould take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in particular, who ſuſpected that this prince would never execute a treaty ſo hurtful to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in ſuſpence, but entered immediately into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money; and to reſtore Milan to Sforza, without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the *holy league*, ſo it was called: And if Naples ſhould be conquered from the emperor, in proſecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry ſhould enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolſey, in conſideration of the ſervices which he had rendered to Chriſtendom, ſhould alſo, in ſuch an event, be put in poſſeſſion of a revenue of 10,000 ducats.

[p] Guicciardini, lib. 17.

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FRANCIS was desirous that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so, because Charles, distitute, as usual, of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and, in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himself killed as he was planting a scaling-ladder against the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and entering the city sword in hand, exercised all those brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed, by her renown alone, to so many calamities, never endured, in any age, even from the barbarians, by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now compelled to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills to which the unhappy Romans were exposed[q]. Whatever was respectable in modesty, or sacred in religion, seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery.. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and

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6th May.

Sack of Rome.

[q] Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

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upon thoſe very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the moſt cruel death, in order to make them reveal their ſecret treaſures, or purchaſe liberty by exorbitant ranſoms. Clement himſelf, who had truſted for protection to the ſacredneſs of his character, and neglected to make his eſcape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spaniſh ſoldiers, did but draw on him the inſolent mockery of the German, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleaſed to gratify their animoſity by the abaſement of the ſovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocriſy, expreſſed the moſt profound ſorrow for the ſucceſs of his arms: He put himſelf and all his court in mourning: He ſtopped the rejoicings for the birth of his ſon Philip: And knowing that every artifice, however groſs, is able, when ſeconded by authority, to impoſe upon the people, he ordered prayers, during ſeveral months, to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty; which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

The concern expreſſed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more ſincere. Theſe two monarchs, a few days before the ſack of Rome, had concluded a treaty[r] at Weſtminſter, in which, beſides renewing former alliances, they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranſom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and in caſe of refuſal, the ambaſſadors, attended by heralds, were ordered

[r] 30th April.

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to denounce war againſt him. This war it was agreed to proſecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred men at arms, two-thirds to be ſupplied by Francis, the reſt by Henry. And, in order to ſtrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was ſtipulated that either Francis or his ſon, the duke of Orleans, as ſhould afterwards be agreed on, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter. No ſooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther ſtimulated to undertake the war with vigour for reſtoring him to liberty. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert meaſures for that purpoſe; and he diſplayed all that grandeur and magnificence with which he was ſo much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thouſand horſe. The cardinal of Lorraine, and the chancellor Alençon, met him at Boulogne: Francis himſelf, beſides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving, in every place where he came, liberty to all priſoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced ſome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary; and as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions, by their own authority. Wolſey made ſome attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitleſs, he was obliged,

29th May.

11th July.

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obliged, though with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprizes[t].

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The more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was, some time after, concluded at London; in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now, indeed, be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The mareschal Montmorency, accompanied by many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had extinguished the ancient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

League with France.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: And he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the dutchy of Milan, on ac-

[t] Burnet, book 3. col. 12, 13.

count

count of his pretended treaſon. The Engliſh and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war againſt him, and ſet him at defiance. Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his maſter with breach of faith, reminded him of the private converſation which had paſſed between them at Madrid before their ſeparation, and offered to prove, by ſingle combat, that he had acted diſhonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding ſecurity of the field, he offered to maintain his cauſe by ſingle combat. Many meſſages paſſed to and fro between them; but though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards, during that age, zealouſly diſputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince the more candid, generous, and ſincere, ſhould, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to ſo cruel a ſituation, that nothing but his violation of treaty could preſerve his people, and that he muſt ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promiſe by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue.

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But though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate conſequence with regard to theſe monarchs themſelves, it produced a conſiderable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous juriſprudence, which was ſtill preſerved on very ſolemn occaſions, and which was ſometimes countenanced by the civil magiſtrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the moſt trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themſelves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly vindicating

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vindicating their right in ſingle combat. Theſe abſurd, though generous maxims, ſhed much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom during more than two centuries; and notwithſtanding the ſeverity of law, and authority of reaſon, ſuch is the prevailing force of cuſtom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

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Scruples concerning the king's marriage——The king enters into theſe ſcruples——Anne Boleyn——Henry applies to the pope for a divorce——The pope favourable——The emperor threatens him——The pope's ambiguous conduct——The cauſe evoked to Rome——Wolſey's fall——Commencement of the reformation in England——Foreign affairs——Wolſey's death——A parliament——Progreſs of the Reformation——A parliament——King's final breach with Rome——A parliament.

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1527. Scruples concerning the king's marriage.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſubmiſſive deference paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not paſſed without much ſcruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent againſt a conjugal union between ſuch near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his ſon, when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling the contract[t]. He ordered the young prince, as ſoon as he came of age, to enter a proteſtation againſt the marriage[u]; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his laſt injunction, not to finiſh an alliance, ſo unuſual, and expoſed to ſuch inſuperable objec-

[t] Moriſon's Apomaxis, p. 13. Heylin's Queen Mary, p. 2.

[u] Moriſon, p. 13.

tions.

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tions. After the king's acceſſion, ſome members of the privy council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared againſt the reſolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and diſſipation kept him, during ſome time, from entertaining any ſcruples with regard to the meaſure which he had embraced, there happened incidents ſufficient to rouſe his attention, and to inform him of the ſentiments generally entertained on that ſubject. The ſtates of Caſtile had oppoſed the emperor Charles's eſpouſals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had inſiſted on the illegitimate birth of the young princeſs[w]. And when the negociations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the biſhop of Tarbe, the French ambaſſador, revived the ſame objection[x]. But though theſe events naturally raiſed ſome doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other cauſes, which tended much to encreaſe his remorſe, and render his conſcience more ſcrupulous.

The king enters into theſe ſcruples.

THE queen was older than the king by no leſs than ſix years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diſeaſes, had contributed, notwithſtanding her blameleſs character and deportment, to render her perſon unacceptable to him. Though ſhe had borne him ſeveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more ſtruck with this misfortune, becauſe the curſe of being childleſs is the very threatening, contained in the Moſaical law, againſt thoſe who eſpouſe their brother's widow. The ſucceſſion too of the crown was a conſideration that occurred to every

[w] Lord Herbert, Fiddes's life of Wolſey. 192. 203. Heylin, p. 3.

[x] Rymer, vol. xiv.

one,

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time, whenever the lawfulneſs of Henry's marriage was called in queſtion; and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakneſs of her ſex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretenſions, and might throw the kingdom into confuſion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulſions, ariſing from a diſputed title, made great impreſſion on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerſally deſirous of any event which might obviate ſo irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private paſſions, and by motives of public intereſt, to ſeek the diſſolution of his inauſpicious, and, as it was eſteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine.

HENRY afterwards affirmed, that his ſcruples aroſe entirely from private reflection; and that, on conſulting his confeſſor, the biſhop of Lincoln, he found the prelate poſſeſſed with the ſame doubts and difficulties. The king himſelf, being ſo great a caſuiſt and divine, next proceeded to examine the queſtion more carefully by his own learning and ſtudy; and having had recourſe to Thomas of Aquine, he obſerved that this celebrated doctor, whoſe authority was great in the church, and abſolute with him, had treated of that very caſe, and had expreſsly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages [y]. The prohibitions, ſaid Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the reſt, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and though the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was then applied to; and he was required to conſult his brethren: All the prelates of England, except Fiſher,

[y] Burnet, Fiddes.

biſhop

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1527. bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful[z]. Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples[a]; partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the dutchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps too somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms, unbefitting his character and station[b]. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

Anne Boleyn.

ANNE Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Hastings[c]. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Lewis XII. of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damsel, whose accomplishments, even in her tender years, were always much admired, was

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548. Strype, vol. i. p. 88. Burnet, vol. i p. 44.

[a] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46. 166. 168. Saunders. Heylin, p. 4.

[b] Burnet, vol. i p 38.

[c] Camden's preface to the life of Elizabeth.

retained

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retained in the ſervice of Claude, queen of France, ſpouſe to Francis; and, after the death of that princeſs, ſhe paſſed into the family of the dutcheſs of Alençon, a woman of ſingular merit. The exact time when ſhe returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited, which he himſelf afterwards gave of that tranſaction. Henry's ſcruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he ſtill ſupported an intercourſe of civility and friendſhip with her, he had occaſion, in the frequent viſits which he paid her, to obſerve the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accompliſhments of her mind nowiſe inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the deſign of raiſing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this reſolution, when he found that her virtue and modeſty prevented all hopes of gratifying his paſſion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy, ſeemed thus to concur in making the king deſirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his proſpect of ſucceſs was inviting, he reſolved to make application to Clement, and he ſent Knight, his ſecretary, to Rome for that purpoſe.

Henry applies to the pope for a divorce.

THAT he might not ſhock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he reſolved not to found the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of conſanguinity; but only to inſiſt on particular grounds of nullity in the bull, which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that, if the pope be ſurpriſed into any conceſſion, or grant any indulgence upon falſe ſuggeſtions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had uſually been employed wherever one pope had recalled any deed, executed by any

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any of his predeceſſors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal, favourable to Henry, needed not want a ſpecious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was ſaid in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his ſolicitation; though it was known, that, at that time, he was under twelve years of age: It was alſo affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requiſite, in order to preſerve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain, that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. Theſe falſe premiſes in Julius's bull ſeemed to afford Clement a ſufficient reaſon or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage[d].

The pope favourable.

But though the pretext for this indulgence had been leſs plauſible, the pope was in ſuch a ſituation, that he had the ſtrongeſt motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the Engliſh monarch. He was then a priſoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reaſonable terms, except by the efforts of the league, which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppoſe the ambition of Charles. When the Engliſh ſecretary, therefore, ſolicited him in private, he received a very favourable anſwer; and a diſpenſation was forthwith promiſed to be granted to his maſter[e]. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialiſts to reſtore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the ſecretary, with Sir Gregory Caſſali, the king's reſident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They ſtill found him full of high profeſſions of friendſhip,

[d] Collier, Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitel. p. 9.

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 47.

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gratitude, and attachment to the king; but not ſo prompt in granting his requeſt as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promiſe from the pope, to take no ſteps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial miniſters; and Clement, embarraſſed by this promiſe, and ſtill more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, ſeemed willing to poſtpone thoſe conceſſions deſired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the Engliſh miniſters, he at laſt put into their hands a *commiſſion* to Wolſey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's diſpenſation[f]: He alſo granted them a proviſional *diſpenſation* for the king's marriage with any other perſon; and promiſed to iſſue a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he repreſented to them the dangerous conſequences which muſt enſue to him, if theſe conceſſions ſhould come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publiſh thoſe papers, or make any further uſe of them, till his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation as to ſecure his liberty and independence. And his ſecret advice was, whenever they ſhould find the proper time for opening the ſcene, that they ſhould prevent all oppoſition, by proceeding immediately to a concluſion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's inſtantly eſpouſing ſome other perſon. Nor would it be ſo difficult, he ſaid, for himſelf to confirm theſe proceedings, after they were paſſed, as previouſly to render them valid, by his conſent and authority[g].

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When Henry received the commiſſion and diſpenſation from his ambaſſadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his miniſters, and aſked

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[f] Rymer, vol. xiv. 237.

[g] Collier, from Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 10.

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their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to ratify a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; the children, which it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever[h]. And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability, of such an event, were much confirmed, when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

CLEMENT was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents and that penetration with which he was endowed[i]. The captivity, and other misfortunes, which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measure; especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The Imperial forces were, at that time, powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless, and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened, still more immediately, his person and his dignity.

The emperor threatens him.

CHARLES, apprized of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses, which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 51.

[i] Father Paul, lib. i. Guicciardini.

introduced

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introduced into every branch of eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration. The power of the ſovereign pontiff himſelf, he ſaid, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne, which he filled, might juſtly be called in queſtion. That pope had always paſſed for the natural ſon of Julian of Medicis, who was of the ſovereign family of Florence; and though Leo X. his kinſman, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promiſe of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any juſt reaſon or authority[k]. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely ſilent with regard to the promotion of baſtards to the papal throne; but, what was ſtill dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepoſſeſſion, that this ſtain in the birth of any perſon was incompatible with ſo holy an office. And in another point, the canon law was expreſs and poſitive, that no man, guilty of ſimony, could attain that dignity. A ſevere bull of Julius II. had added new ſanctions to this law, by declaring, that a ſimoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a poſterior conſent of the cardinals. But unfortunately Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promiſes of advancing that cardinal, in caſe he himſelf ſhould attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: And this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependence on the emperor, threatened every moment to expoſe to public view[l].

WHILE Charles terrified the pope with theſe menaces, he alſo allured him by hopes, which were no leſs prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces ſacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, paſſionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his diſtreſſes, and revolting againſt the family of Medicis, had entirely aboliſhed their autho-

[k] Father Paul, lib. 1.

[l] Ibid.

rity

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rity in Florence, and re-eſtabliſhed the democracy. The better to protect themſelves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, againſt the emperor; and Clement found, that, by this intereſt, the hands of his confederates were tied from aſſiſting him in the reſtoration of his family; the event, which, of all others, he moſt paſſionately deſired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpoſe; and therefore, whatever profeſſions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the leaſt glimpſe of hope, ready to embrace every propoſal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch[m].

THESE views and intereſts of the pope were well known in England; and as the oppoſition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreſeen, both on account of the honour and intereſts of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of diſtreſſing an enemy, it was eſteemed dangerous to take any meaſure of conſequence, in expectation of the ſubſequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whoſe behaviour always contained ſo much duplicity, and who was at preſent ſo little at his own diſpoſal. The ſafeſt meaſure ſeemed to conſiſt in previouſly engaging him ſo far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making uſe of his preſent ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the moſt important conceſſions from him. For this purpoſe, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's ſecretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were
30th Feb. diſpatched to Rome, and were ordered to ſolicit a commiſſion from the pope, of ſuch a nature as would oblige him to confirm the ſentence of the commiſſioners, whatever it ſhould be, and diſable him, on any account, to recal the commiſſion, or evoke the cauſe to Rome[n].

[m] Father Paul. [n] Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. No 23, 24, &c.

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1528. The pope's ambiguous conduct.

But the ſame reaſons, which made the king ſo deſirous of obtaining this conceſſion, confirmed the pope in the reſolution of refuſing it: He was ſtill determined to keep the door open for an agreement with the emperor, and he made no ſcruple of ſacrificing all other conſiderations to a point, which he deemed the moſt eſſential and important to his own ſecurity, and to the greatneſs of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolſey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to inſert the clauſe deſired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter, promiſing not to recal the preſent commiſſion; this promiſe was found, on examination, to be couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, as left him ſtill the power, whenever he pleaſed, of departing from it[o].

Campeggio lay under ſome obligations to the king; but his dependance on the pope was ſo much greater, that he conformed himſelf entirely to the views of the latter; and though he received his commiſſion in April, he delayed his departure under ſo many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The firſt ſtep which he took, was to exhort the king to deſiſt from the proſecution of his divorce; and finding that this counſel gave offence, he ſaid, that his intention was alſo to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty, previouſly to attempt an amicable compoſure of all differences[p]. The more to pacify the king, he ſhewed to him, as alſo to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no entreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the ſecret[q]. In order to atone, in ſome degree, for this obſtinacy, he expreſſed

[o] Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59.
[p] Herbert, p. 225.
[q] Burnet, p. 58.

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1528. to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he showed, that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and episcopal sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness [r].

These ambiguous circumstances, in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience
1529. the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues, for electing his successor, began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter [s]; and it appears, that if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the court of England. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favourable issue to his process: He still continued his secret negociations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artful delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

[r] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111. Append. No 28.
[s] Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

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THE emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earneſtneſs in this affair, was determined, that he ſhould obtain ſucceſs by no other means than by an application to him, and by deſerting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto ſupported, againſt the ſuperior force of Spain, the tottering ſtate of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promiſing her his utmoſt protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and perſecutions of her enemies. The queen herſelf was naturally of a firm and reſolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to perſevere in proteſting againſt the injuſtice to which ſhe thought herſelf expoſed. The imputation of inceſt, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, ſtruck her with the higheſt indignation: The illegitimacy of her daughter, which ſeemed a neceſſary conſequence, gave her the moſt juſt concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, ſhe believed, had ſupplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all theſe conſiderations, ſhe never ceaſed ſoliciting her nephew's aſſiſtance, and earneſtly entreating an evocation of the cauſe to Rome, where alone, ſhe thought, ſhe could expect juſtice. And the emperor, in all his negociations with the pope, made the recal of the commiſſion, which Campeggio and Wolſey exerciſed in England, a fundamental article[t].

31ſt May. Trial of the king's marriage.

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. The both preſented themſelves; and the king anſwered to his name, when called: But the queen, inſtead of anſwering to hers, roſe from her ſeat, and throwing herſelf at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him, that ſhe was a

[t] Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

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ſtranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without aſſiſtance; expoſed to all the injuſtice which her enemies were pleaſed to impoſe upon her: That ſhe had quitted her native country, without other reſource than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected that, inſtead of ſuffering thence any violence or iniquity, ſhe was aſſured in them of a ſafeguard againſt every misfortune: That ſhe had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himſelf, whether her affectionate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited better treatment, than to be thus, after ſo long a time, thrown from him with ſo much indignity: That ſhe was conſcious—he himſelf was aſſured—that her virgin honour was yet unſtained, when he received her into his bed, and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were eſteemed the wiſeſt princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the beſt advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now repreſented as ſo criminal and unnatural: And that ſhe acquieſced in their judgment, and would not ſubmit her cauſe to be tried by a court, whoſe dependance on her enemies was too viſible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial deciſion[u]. Having ſpoken theſe words, ſhe roſe, and making the king a low reverence, ſhe departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

AFTER her departure, the king did her the juſtice to acknowledge, that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour. He only inſiſted on his own ſcruples with regard to the lawfulneſs of their marriage; and he explained

[u] Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543.

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the origin, the progreſs, and the foundation of thoſe doubts, by which he had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolſey from having any hand in encouraging his ſcruples; and he craved a ſentence of the court agreeable to the juſtice of his cauſe. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

The legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her *contumacious*, notwithſtanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The firſt point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it muſt be confeſſed, that no ſtronger arguments could reaſonably be expected of ſuch a fact after ſo long an interval. The age of the prince, who had paſſed his fifteenth year, the good ſtate of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his conſort, many of his expreſſions to that very purpoſe; all theſe circumſtances form a violent preſumption in favour of the king's aſſertion[w]. Henry himſelf, after his brother's death, was not allowed, for ſome time, to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: The Spaniſh ambaſſador, in order the better to enſure poſſeſſion of her jointure, had ſent over to Spain proofs of the conſummation of her marriage[x]: Julius's bull itſelf was founded on the ſuppoſition that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princeſs: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the conſummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur, is acknowledged on both ſides[y]. Theſe particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reaſonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and againſt his power of granting a diſpenſation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard theſe doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithſtanding his reſolution to protract the cauſe,

w Herbert.
x Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.
y Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

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he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's counsel, when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought that a trial, managed by an Italian cardinal, would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprize, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences [a], prorogued the court till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished [a].

The cause evoked to Rome.

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had, by his ministers, earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legates should be allowed to finish the trial; but, though they employed the same engines of promises and menaces, the motives which they could set before the pope, were not so urgent or immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor [b]. The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the an-

[a] Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77. [a] Herbert, p. 254.
[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 75.

xiety

xiety for his perſonal ſafety, and the fond deſire of re- CHAP. XXX. 1529.
ſtoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As ſoon, therefore, as he had adjuſted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of juſtice, which required him, as he aſſerted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and, ſuſpending the commiſſion of the legates, he adjourned the cauſe to his own perſonal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, before-hand, received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull with which he was entruſted.

WOLSEY had long foreſeen this meaſure as the ſure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at firſt deſired that the king ſhould rather marry a French princeſs than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity and earneſtneſs to bring the affair to a happy iſſue[c]: He was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unproſperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had ſufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or diſtinction, to make his miniſters anſwerable for the ſucceſs of thoſe tranſactions with which they were entruſted. Anne Boleyn alſo, who was prepoſſeſſed againſt him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and, as ſhe was newly returned to court, whence ſhe had been removed, from a regard to decency, during the trial before the legates, ſhe had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and ſhe ſerved much to fortify his prejudices againſt the cardinal[d]. Even the queen and her partizans, judging of Wolſey by the part which he had openly acted, had expreſſed great animoſity againſt him; and the moſt oppoſite factions ſeemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty miniſter. The high opinion itſelf, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's

[c] Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53. [d] Cavendiſh, p. 40.

capacity,

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1529. capacity, tended to haſten his downfal; while he imputed the bad ſucceſs of that miniſter's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to miſtake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not inſtantly on his head. The king, who probably could not juſtify, by any good reaſon, his alienation from his ancient favourite, ſeems to have remained ſome time in ſuſpence; and he received him, if not with all his former kindneſs, at leaſt with the appearance of truſt and regard.

Wolſey's fall.

But conſtant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the leaſt diminution, without ſinking into abſolute indifference, or even running into the oppoſite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almoſt as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation.

18th Oct. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were ſent to require the great ſeal from him; and, on his ſcrupling to deliver it[c], without a more expreſs warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was ſurrendered, and it was delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man who, beſides the ornaments of an elegant literature, poſſeſſed the higheſt virtue, integrity, and capacity.

Wolsey was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the ſee of York, was ſeized by Henry, and became, afterwards, the reſidence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were alſo ſeized: Their riches and ſplendor befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of ſilver: He had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold: There were found a thouſand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The reſt of his riches and furniture was

[c] Cavendiſh, p. 41.

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in proportion; and his opulence was, probably, no ſmall inducement to this violent perſecution againſt him.

1529. THE cardinal was ordered to retire to Aſher, a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton-Court. The world, that had paid him ſuch abject court during his proſperity, now entirely deſerted him on this fatal reverſe of all his fortunes. He himſelf was much dejected with the change; and, from the ſame turn of mind which had made him be ſo vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the ſtroke of adverſity with double rigour[f]. The ſmalleſt appearance of his return to favour threw him into tranſports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had ſeemed willing, during ſome time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in poſſeſſion of the ſees of York and Wincheſter. He even ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey, who was on horſeback when the meſſenger met him, immediately alighted; and, throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, theſe marks of his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him[g].

BUT his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceaſed plying the king with accounts of his ſeveral offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinſtated in his former authority. He diſmiſſed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and, as he was a kind and beneficent maſter, the ſeparation paſſed not without a plentiful effuſion of tears on both ſides[h]. The king's heart, notwithſtanding ſome gleams of kindneſs, ſeemed now totally hardened againſt his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a ſentence was

[f] Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115. App. No 31, &c. [g] Stowe, p. 547. [h] Cavendiſh. Stowe, p. 549.

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passed against him. And, not content with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: No evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and, as it chiefly consists of general accusations, it was scarcely susceptible of any[i]. The articles were sent down to the house of commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

Wolsey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him; that, contrary to a statute of Richard II. commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but, besides that this statute had fallen into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe, than to impute to him, as a crime, what he had openly, during the course of so many years, practised with the consent and approbation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament and king-

[i] See note [C] at the end of the volume.

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dom. Not to mention what he always aſſerted[k], and what we can ſcarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licence in the moſt formal manner, which, had he not been apprehenſive of the dangers attending any oppoſition to Henry's lawleſs will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced againſt him, "That he was out "of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; "and that his perſon might be committed to cuſtody." But this proſecution of Wolſey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; reſtored him part of his plate and furniture; and ſtill continued, from time to time, to drop expreſſions of favour and compaſſion towards him.

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Commencement of the reformation in England.

THE complaints againſt the uſurpations of the eccleſiaſtics had been very ancient in England, as well as in moſt other European kingdoms; and, as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people, in ſome meaſure, to the frightful idea of hereſy and innovation. The commons, finding the occaſion favourable, paſſed ſeveral bills, reſtraining the impoſitions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another againſt the exactions for the probates of wills[l]; a third againſt non-reſidence and pluralities, and againſt churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the eccleſiaſtical order, were the ſevere invectives thrown out, almoſt without oppoſition, in the houſe, againſt the diſſolute lives of the prieſts, their ambition, their avarice, and their endleſs encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert[m] has even preſerved the ſpeech

[k] Cavendiſh, p. 72.

[l] Theſe exactions were quite arbitrary, and had riſen to a great height. A member ſaid in the houſe, that a thouſand merks had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188. Stryge, vol. i. p. 73.

[m] P. 293.

of

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of a gentleman of Gray's-Inn, which is of a ſingular nature, and contains ſuch topics as we ſhould little expect to meet with during that period. The member inſiſts upon the vaſt variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endleſs inextricable controverſies maintained by the ſeveral ſects; the impoſſibility that any man, much leſs the people, could ever know, much leſs examine, the tenets and principles of every ſect; the neceſſity of ignorance, and a ſuſpenſe of judgment with regard to all thoſe objects of diſpute: And, upon the whole, he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one ſupreme Being, the author of nature; and the neceſſity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such ſentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced, without ſome precaution, in a public aſſembly. But, though the firſt broaching of religious controverſy might encourage the ſceptical turn in a few perſons of a ſtudious diſpoſition; the zeal with which men ſoon after attached themſelves to their ſeveral parties, ſerved effectually to baniſh, for a long time, all ſuch obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of lords. Biſhop Fiſher, in particular, imputed theſe meaſures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed deſign, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in ſevere, and even ſomewhat indecent terms. He told him that the greateſt clerks were not always the wiſeſt men. But Fiſher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the biſhop of Rocheſter's ſpeech ſtopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their ſpeaker, made complaints to the king of the

the reflections thrown upon them; and the biſhop was obliged to put a more favourable conſtruction on his words [a]. CHAP. XXX. 1529.

HENRY was not diſpleaſed, that the court of Rome and the clergy ſhould be ſenſible, that they were entirely dependant on him, and that his parliament, if he were willing to ſecond their inclinations, was ſufficiently diſpoſed to reduce the power and privileges of the eccleſiaſtics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: They granted him a diſcharge of all thoſe debts which he had contracted ſince the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occaſioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money, which he had borrowed, in the public ſervice. Moſt of the king's creditors conſiſted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the ſupply of Henry's neceſſities; and the preſent courtiers were well pleaſed to take the opportunity of mulcting them [b]. Several alſo approved of an expedient which, they hoped, would ever after diſcredit a method of ſupply ſo irregular and ſo unparliamentary.

THE domeſtic tranſactions of England were at preſent ſo intereſting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in ſubordination to them. He had declared war againſt the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands, had engaged him to ſtipulate a neutrality with thoſe provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exerciſed no hoſtility againſt any of the imperial dominions. A general peace was this ſummer eſta- Foreign affairs.

[a] Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82.
[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

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blished in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louisa of Savoy met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was, on this occasion, so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquittal of near 600,000 crowns, which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray: They were almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and seemed to have no means of security left, but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated; they were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already, by his vigour and capacity, succeeded in every enterprize, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

But though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side, and though the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his desire of surmounting them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greatest

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greateſt and moſt accompliſhed prince that ever ſat on the Ottoman throne, had almoſt entirely ſubdued Hungary, had beſieged Vienna, and, though repulſed, ſtill menaced the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria with conqueſt and ſubjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conſcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and becauſe they proteſted againſt the votes paſſed in the imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *proteſtants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and, on pretence of ſecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a ſcheme for aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

THE friendſhip of Henry was one material circumſtance yet wanting to Charles, in order to enſure ſucceſs in his ambitious enterprizes; and the king was ſufficiently apprized, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; that point which had long been the object of his moſt earneſt wiſhes. But beſides that the intereſts of his kingdom ſeemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty ſpirit could not ſubmit to a friendſhip impoſed on him by conſtraint; and as he had ever been accuſtomed to receive courtſhip, deference, and ſolicitation from the greateſt potentates, he could ill brook that dependance to which this unhappy affair ſeemed to have reduced him. Amidſt the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and though he had been educated in a ſuperſtitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely, that his perſonal experience of the duplicity and ſelfiſh politics of Clement, had ſerved much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly eſtabliſhed at home: He obſerved, that his people were

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in general much diſguſted with clerical uſurpations, and diſpoſed to reduce the powers and privileges of the eccleſiaſtical order: He knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his proſecution of the divorce, and highly reſented the unworthy treatment which, after ſo many ſervices, and ſuch devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyne alſo could not fail to uſe all her efforts, and employ every inſinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities againſt the pope; both as it was the readieſt way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the dutcheſs of Alençon, a princeſs inclined to the reformers, had already diſpoſed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But, notwithſtanding theſe inducements, Henry had ſtrong motives ſtill to deſire a good agreement with the ſovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of ſuch great innovations: He dreaded the reproach of hereſy: He abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: And having once exerted himſelf with ſuch applauſe, as he imagined, in defence of the Romiſh communion, he was aſhamed to retract his former opinions, and betray, from paſſion, ſuch a palpable inconſiſtency. While he was agitated by theſe contrary motives, an expedient was propoſed which, as it promiſed a ſolution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction.

The univerſities conſulted about the king's marriage.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jeſus-College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that univerſity for his learning, and ſtill more, for the candour and diſintereſtedneſs of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the buſineſs of the divorce became the ſubject of converſation, he obſerved, that the readieſt way, either to quiet Henry's conſcience, or extort the pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the

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the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: If they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorses would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom [p]. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: He sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe.

HAD the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason, why marriages in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments, of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect that, if a commerce of love were authorised between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse, more or less restrained, between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find, that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between persons of different sexes, except where

[p] Fox, p. 1860, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

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they lived under the ſame roof; and even the apartments of a ſtep-mother, and her daughters, were almoſt as much ſhut up againſt viſits from the huſband's ſons, as againſt thoſe from any ſtranger or more diſtant relation: Hence, in that nation, it was lawful for a man to marry, not only his niece, but his half-ſiſter by the father: A liberty unknown to the Romans, and other nations, where a more open intercourſe was authoriſed between the ſexes. Reaſoning from this principle, it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life, among great princes, is ſo obſtructed by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill conſequence would reſult, among them, from marrying a brother's widow; eſpecially if the diſpenſation of the ſupreme prieſt be previouſly required, in order to juſtify what may in common caſes be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And as ſtrong motives of public intereſt and tranquillity may frequently require ſuch alliances between the foreign families, there is the leſs reaſon for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals [q].

But, in oppoſition to theſe reaſons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had cuſtom and precedent on his ſide, the principle by which men are almoſt wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was ſo unuſual, that no other inſtance of it could be found in any hiſtory or record of any Chriſtian nation; and though the popes were accuſtomed to diſpenſe with more eſſential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, ſuch as thoſe of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exerciſe of his authority. Several univerſities of Europe, therefore, without heſitation, as well as with-

[q] See note [D] at the end of the volume.

out

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out intereſt or reward [r], gave verdict in the king's favour; not only thoſe of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouſe, Angiers, which might be ſuppoſed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but alſo thoſe of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itſelf, though under the immediate juriſdiction of Clement. Oxford alone [s] and Cambridge [t] made ſome difficulty; becauſe theſe univerſities, alarmed at the progreſs of Lutheraniſm, and dreading a defection from the holy ſee, ſcrupled to give their ſanction to meaſures, whoſe conſequences, they feared, would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other univerſities of Europe, was at laſt obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all theſe authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cauſe to the holy father, and threatening him with the moſt dangerous conſequences in caſe of a denial of juſtice [u]. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to diſpenſe [w]. But Clement, lying ſtill under the influence of the emperor, continued to ſummon the king to appear, either by himſelf or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high inſult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltſhire, carried to the pope the king's reaſons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the firſt inſtance of diſreſpect from England, refuſed to kiſs

[r] Herbert. Burnet.
[s] Wood, Hiſt. and Ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225.
[t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 6.
[u] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95.
[w] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454. 472.

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his holineſs's foot, which he very graciouſly held out to him for that purpoſe [z].

1530. THE extremities to which Henry was puſhed, both againſt the pope and the eccleſiaſtical order, were naturally diſagreeable to cardinal Wolſey; and as Henry foreſaw his oppoſition, it is the moſt probable reaſon that can be aſſigned for his renewing the proſecution againſt his ancient favourite. After Wolſey had remained ſome time at Aſher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a preſent from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: But the courtiers, dreading ſtill his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his ſee of York. The Cardinal knew it was in vain to reſiſt: He took up his reſidence at Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hoſpitality [y]; but he was not allowed to remain long unmoleſted in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolſey's eccleſiaſtical character, to arreſt him for high treaſon, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was ſeized with a diſorder which turned into a dyſentery; and he was able, with ſome difficulty, to reach Leiceſter-abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much reſpect and reverence, he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never roſe more. A little before he expired,

Nov. 28. he addreſſed himſelf in the following words to Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, who had him in cuſtody. "I pray you, have me heartily recommended "unto his royal majeſty, and beſeech him on my behalf "to call to his remembrance all matters that have paſſed

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 94. [y] Cavendiſh. Stowe, p. 554.

"between

" between us from the beginning, especially with re- CHAP. XXX.
" gard to his business with the queen; and then will
" he know in his conscience, whether I have offended 1530.
" him.

" He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a
" princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want
" any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of
" his kingdom.

" I do assure you, that I have often kneeled before
" him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him
" from his will and appetite; but could not prevail: Had
" I but served God as diligently as I have served the
" king, he would not have given me over in my grey
" hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive
" for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my
" service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore, let
" me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council, as
" by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put
" into the king's head: For you can never put it out
" again[z]."

Thus died this famous cardinal, whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which some of his favourite's measures have undergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolsey's counsels, we shall be inclined to suspect those historians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this minister with such violent reproaches. If, in foreign politics, he sometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purposes, rather than his master's service, which, he boasted, he had solely at heart; we must remember, that he had Wolsey's death.

[z] Cavendish.

in

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1530. in view the papal throne; a dignity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboise, whose memory is respected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was, in some respect, similar to Wolsey's; and we have reason to think, that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his minister was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death, when informed of it; and always spoke favourably of his memory: A proof, that humour, more than reason, or any discovery of treachery, had occasioned the last persecutions against him.

1531. 26th Jan. A parliament.

A NEW session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. As an ancient statute, now almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, and render his exercise of the legantine power criminal, notwithstanding the king's permission; the same law was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended, that every one who had submitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors; and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them[a]. The convocation knew, that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wolsey's commission, which was procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his authority. They chose therefore to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign; and they agreed to pay 118,840 pounds for a pardon[b]. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that *the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and*

[a] Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106. [b] Hollingshed, p. 923.

clergy

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clergy of England; though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms, *in so far as is permitted by the laws of Christ.* 1532.

The commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest either they should afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their submission to the legantine court, or a supply, in like manner, be extorted from them, in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse. He told them, that if he ever chose to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expressed great gratitude for that act of clemency[c].

By this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the English clergy were, in some measure, dissolved. The next session found both king and parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying the annates or first fruits[d]; being a year's rent of all the bishopries that fell vacant: A tax which was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second of Henry VII. no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim; 1532. 15th Jan. Progress of the reformation.

[c] Hall's Chronicle. Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, p. 208.
[d] Burnet, vol. i. Collect. N° 42. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

which

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which the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the epiſcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entruſted with a power of regulating theſe payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleaſure: And it was voted, that any cenſures which ſhould be paſſed by the court of Rome on account of that law, ſhould be entirely diſregarded; and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

THIS ſeſſion the commons preferred to the king a long complaint againſt the abuſes and oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference aroſe, which put an end to the ſeſſion before the parliament had finiſhed all their buſineſs. It was become a cuſtom for men to make ſuch ſettlements, or truſt-deeds, of their lands by will, that they defrauded, not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and, by the ſame artifice, the king was deprived of his premier ſeiſin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconſiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuſe: He was contented that every man ſhould have the liberty of diſpoſing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, "If they would "not take a reaſonable thing when it was offered, he "would ſearch out the extremity of the law, and then "would not offer them ſo much again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: A ſingular inſtance, where Henry might ſee that his power and authority, though extenſive, had yet ſome boundaries. The commons, however, found reaſon to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ableſt lawyers, who argued the queſtion in chancery; and it was decided, that

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that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir[e].

1532. 10th April.

The parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them, that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns[f], the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion made the king send for Audley, the speaker; and explain to him the scruples with which his conscience had long been burdened; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man that had ever married his brother's widow[g].

After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from this high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary History.
[f] Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124. [g] Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

it.

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it. The auſterity of this man's virtue, and the ſanctity of his manners, had no wiſe encroached on the gentleneſs of his temper, or even diminiſhed that frolic and gaiety to which he was naturally inclined. He ſported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high ſtation, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his ſerene and equal ſpirit. While his family diſcovered ſymptoms of ſorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accuſtomed, he drew a ſubject of mirth from their diſtreſſes; and made them aſhamed of loſing even a moment's cheerfulneſs on account of ſuch trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his reſignation with ſome difficulty; and he delivered the great ſeal ſoon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

During theſe tranſactions in England, and theſe invaſions of the papal and eccleſiaſtical authority, the court of Rome was not without ſolicitude; and ſhe entertained juſt apprehenſions of loſing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which, of all others, had long been the moſt devoted to the holy ſee, and which had yielded it the moſt ample revenue. While the imperial cardinals puſhed Clement to proceed to extremities againſt the king, his more moderate and impartial counſellors repreſented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had ſignalized himſelf, both by his pen and his ſword, in the cauſe of the pope, ſhould be denied a favour which he demanded on ſuch juſt grounds, and which had ſcarcely ever before been refuſed to any perſon of his rank and ſtation. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and ſeveral conſiſtories were held, to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to ſend any proxy to plead his cauſe

before this court: He only diſpatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excuſators, ſo they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he ſaid, muſt be ſacrificed, if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and as the queſtion regarded conſcience, not power or intereſt, no proxy could ſupply his place, or convey that ſatisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to ſupport himſelf in this meaſure, and add greater ſecurity to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his perſonal friendſhip, as well as public alliance, with that monarch, and concerted all meaſures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which, he believed, he had perſuaded Francis to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience from the biſhop of Rome, and adminiſtering eccleſiaſtical affairs without having farther recourſe to that ſee. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as reſolute to ſtand all conſequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previouſly created marchioneſs of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, ſoon after raiſed to the biſhopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were preſent at the ceremony [b]. Anne became pregnant ſoon after her marriage; and this event both gave great ſatisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a ſtrong proof of the queen's former modeſty and virtue.

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1532. 11th Oct. 14th Nov.

THE parliament was again aſſembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded ſtill in thoſe gradual and ſecure ſteps by which

1533. 4th Feb. A parliament.

[b] Herbert, p. 540, 541.

they

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1533. they loosened their connexions with the see of Rome, and repressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and found to be very vexatious, by the expence and the delay of justice which necessarily attended them[i]. The more to show his disregard to the pope, Henry, finding
12th April. the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring, by a formal sentence, the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine: A sentence which ought naturally to have preceded his espousing of Anne[k].

The king, even amidst his scruples and remorses on account of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce. Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her abode for some time at Amphill, near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury on the death
10th May. of Warham[l], was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared *contumacious*; and the primate proceeded to the ex-

[i] 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. [k] Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and Records, N° 8.
[l] See note [E] at the end of the volume.

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amination of the cauſe. The evidences of Arthur's conſummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the univerſities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and, after theſe preliminary ſteps, Cranmer proceeded to a ſentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a ſubſequent ſentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who ſoon after was publicly crowned Queen, with all the pomp and dignity ſuited to that ceremony [m]. To complete the king's ſatisfaction on the concluſion of this intricate and vexatious affair, ſhe was ſafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards ſwayed the ſceptre with ſuch renown and felicity. Henry was ſo much delighted with the birth of this child, that, ſoon after, he conferred on her the title of princeſs of Wales [n]; a ſtep ſomewhat irregular, as ſhe could only be preſumptive, not apparent, heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter, Mary, with that title; and he was determined to beſtow on the offſpring of his preſent marriage the ſame mark of diſtinction, as well as to exclude the elder princeſs from all hopes of the ſucceſſion. His regard for the new queen ſeemed rather to encreaſe than diminiſh by his marriage; and all men expected to ſee the entire aſcendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had ſet her at ſo great a diſtance, and who, by a proper mixture of ſeverity and indulgence, had long managed ſo intractable a ſpirit as that of Henry. In order to efface, as much as poſſible, all marks of his firſt marriage, Lord Mountjoy was ſent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that ſhe was thenceforth to be treated only as princeſs-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make

7th Sept.

[m] Heylin, p. 6.

[n] Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.

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1533. her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit no person to her presence who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions [o].

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to dart his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the first of November ensuing, he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly stood [p]. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

The pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena [q]; and, having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprized to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at

[o] Herbert, p. 326. Burnet, vol. i. p. 232. [p] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566. [q] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133. Guicciardini.

Marseilles;

Marſeilles; and Francis, as a common friend, there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England. CHAP. XXX. 1533.

HAD this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years ſooner, there had been little difficulty in adjuſting the quarrel with Henry. The king's requeſt was an ordinary one; and the ſame plenary power of the pope, which had granted a diſpenſation for his eſpouſing of Catherine, could eaſily have annulled the marriage. But, in the progreſs of the quarrel, the ſtate of affairs was much changed on both ſides. Henry had ſhaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apoſtolic ſee; and, finding that his ſubjects, of all ranks, had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his meaſures for breaking off foreign dependance, he had begun to reliſh his ſpiritual authority, and would ſcarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his ſubmiſſions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifeſt riſque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and, as a ſentence of divorce could no longer be reſted on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be conſtrued as an acknowledgment of papal uſurpations, it was foreſeen that the Lutherans would thence take occaſion of triumph, and would perſevere more obſtinately in their preſent principles. But, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, Francis did not deſpair of mediating an agreement. He obſerved that the king had ſtill ſome remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church, and was apprehenſive of the conſequences which might enſue from too violent innovations. He ſaw the intereſt that Clement had in preſerving the obedience of England, which was one of the richeſt jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that theſe motives on both ſides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

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1534. FRANCIS firſt prevailed on the pope to promiſe, that if the king would ſend a proxy to Rome, and thereby ſubmit his cauſe to the holy ſee, he ſhould appoint commiſſioners to meet at Cambray, and form the proceſs; and he ſhould immediately afterwards pronounce the ſentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, biſhop of Paris, was next diſpatched to London, and obtained a promiſe from the king, that he would ſubmit his cauſe to the Roman conſiſtory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promiſe to Rome; and the pope agreed, that if the king would ſign a written agreement to the ſame purpoſe, his demands ſhould be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the meſſengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romiſh church, as drawing towards an amicable concluſion[r]. But the greateſt affairs often depend on the moſt frivolous incidents. The courier, who carried the king's written promiſe, was detained beyond the day appointed: News was brought to Rome that a libel had been publiſhed in England againſt the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king, in deriſion of the pope and cardinals[s]. The pope and cardinals entered into the conſiſtory enflamed with anger; and, by a precipitate ſentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refuſed to adhere to it. Two days after, the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his uſual prudence, found, that though he heartily repented of this haſty meaſure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the ſame footing as before.

King's final breach with Rome.

23d March.

IT is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himſelf with ever ſo great moderation and temper, could

[r] Father Paul, lib. 1.

[s] Father Paul, lib. 1.

hope,

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hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obſtinate; and, having proceeded ſo far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negociating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained ſo little hopes of ſucceſs, or was ſo indifferent about the event, that he had aſſembled a Parliament, and continued to enact laws totally deſtructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared, by degrees, for this great innovation. Each preceding ſeſſion had retrenched ſomewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during ſome years, to teach the nation that a general council was much ſuperior to a pope. But now a biſhop preached every Sunday at Paul's croſs, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own dioceſe [t]. The proceedings of the parliament ſhowed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reaſon to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable ſentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his ſecond marriage and the ſucceſſion, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have ſurrendered to him any conſiderable ſhare of his aſſumed prerogative. The importance of the laws paſſed this ſeſſion, even before intelligence arrived of the violent reſolutions taken at Rome, is ſufficient to juſtify this opinion.

A parliament.

All payments made to the apoſtolic chamber; all proviſions, bulls, diſpenſations, were aboliſhed: Monaſteries were ſubjected to the viſitation and government of the king alone: The law for puniſhing heretics, was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from impriſoning or

[t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

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trying any perſon upon ſuſpicion alone, without preſentment by two lawful witneſſes; and it was declared, that to ſpeak againſt the pope's authority was no hereſy: Biſhops were to be appointed by a *congè d'elire* from the crown, or, in caſe of the dean and chapter's refuſal, by letters patent; and no recourſe was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or proviſions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter, which they had hitherto enjoyed[u]: The law which had been formerly made againſt paying annates or firſt fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to ſuſpend or enforce, was finally eſtabliſhed: And a ſubmiſſion which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received, this ſeſſion, the ſanction of parliament[w]. In this ſubmiſſion, the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be aſſembled by the king's authority only; they promiſe to enact no new canons without his conſent; and they agree that he ſhould appoint thirty-two commiſſioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative[x]. An appeal was alſo allowed from the biſhop's court to the king in Chancery.

But the moſt important law, paſſed this ſeſſion, was that which regulated the ſucceſſion to the crown: The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: The primate's ſentence, annulling it, was ratified: And the marriage with queen Anne was eſtabliſhed and confirmed. The crown was appointed to deſcend to the iſſue of this marriage, and failing them, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath, likewiſe, was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of ſucceſſion, under the penalty of impriſonment during the

30th March.

[u] Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſ. Angl.

[w] 25 H. 8. c. 19.

[x] Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

king's pleaſure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all ſlander againſt the king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the penalty of miſpriſion of treaſon. After theſe compliances the parliament was prorogued; and thoſe acts, ſo contemptuous towards the pope, and ſo deſtructive of his authority, were paſſed at the very time that Clement pronounced his haſty ſentence againſt the king. Henry's reſentment againſt queen Catherine, on account of her obſtinacy, was the reaſon why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown; contrary to his firſt intentions when he began the proceſs of divorce, and of diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage. CHAP. XXX. 1534.

THE king found his eccleſiaſtical ſubjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act againſt appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, ſhould be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: And they voted that the biſhop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more juriſdiction in England than any other foreign biſhop; and that the authority, which he and his predeceſſors had there exerciſed, was only by uſurpation, and by the ſufferance of Engliſh princes. Four perſons alone oppoſed this vote in the lower houſe, and one doubted. It paſſed unanimouſly in the upper. The biſhops went ſo far in their complaiſance, that they took out new commiſſions from the crown, in which all their ſpiritual and epiſcopal authority was expreſsly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magiſtrate, and to be entirely dependant on his good pleaſure[y].

THE oath regarding the ſucceſſion was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fiſher, biſhop of Roche ſter, and Sir Thomas More, were the only perſons of note that entertained ſcruples with regard to its legality. Fiſher was obnoxious, on account of ſome practices into which

y Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii.

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1534. his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, ſeems to have betrayed him. But More was the perſon of greateſt reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the ſentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulneſs of the oath. He declared that he had no ſcruple with regard to the ſucceſſion, and thought that the parliament had full power to ſettle it: He offered to draw an oath himſelf, which would enſure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refuſed the oath preſcribed by law; becauſe the preamble of that oath aſſerted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwel, now ſecretary of ſtate, who highly loved and eſteemed More, entreated him to lay aſide his ſcruples; and their friendly importunity ſeemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refuſal[z]. He perſiſted, however, in a mild, though firm manner, to maintain his reſolution; and the king, irritated againſt him as well as Fiſher, ordered both to be indicted upon the ſtatute, and committed priſoners to the Tower.

3 Novem. THE parliament, being again aſſembled, conferred on the king the title of the only ſupreme *head*, on earth, of the church of England; as they had already inveſted him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to viſit, and repreſs, "redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain, or amend all "errors, hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts, and enor-"mities, which fell under any ſpiritual authority or ju-"riſdiction[a]." They alſo declared it treaſon to attempt, imagine, or ſpeak evil againſt the king, queen, or his

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 156. [a] 26 H. 8. c. 1.

heirs,

heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tythes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a ſubſidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fiſher for miſpriſion of treaſon. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the Engliſh laws. CHAP. XXX. 1536.

THUS the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the exceſs of its acquiſitions, and by ſtretching its pretenſions beyond what it was poſſible for any human principles or prepoſſeſſions to ſuſtain. Indulgences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy ſee; but being openly abuſed, they ſerved to excite the firſt commotions and oppoſition in Germany. The prerogative of granting diſpenſations had alſo contributed much to attach all the ſovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumſtances, was now the cauſe, why England ſeperated herſelf from the Romiſh communion. The acknowledgment of the king's ſupremacy introduced there a greater ſimplicity in the government, by uniting the ſpiritual with the civil power, and preventing diſputes about limits, which never could be exactly determined between the contending juriſdictions. A way was alſo prepared for checking the exorbitances of ſuperſtition, and breaking thoſe ſhackles, by which all human reaſon, policy, and induſtry had ſo long been encumbered. The prince, it may be ſuppoſed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal juriſdiction of the kingdom, though he might ſometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no intereſt, like the Roman pontiff, in nouriſhing its exceſſive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be ſure to retain it within tolerable

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lerable limits, and prevent its abuſes. And on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial conſequences; though perhaps neither foreſeen nor intended by the perſons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with ſo much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority ſeemed entirely ſecure in England, he was held in ſome inquietude by the ſtate of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural ſon, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accuſed of ſome violences againſt the family of Oſſory, his hereditary enemies, he was ſummoned to anſwer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his ſon, who, hearing that his father was thrown into priſon, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himſelf to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Iriſh nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, archbiſhop of Dublin, and laid ſiege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in priſon, and his ſon, perſevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promiſed him aſſiſtance. The king was obliged to ſend over ſome forces to Ireland, which ſo haraſſed the rebels, that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promiſes, was reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering himſelf priſoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorſet. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public juſtice; though two of the uncles, in order to ſave the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire aſcendant in Scotland; and having gotten poſſeſſion of the king's perſon,

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ſon, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his conſort, bred him great diſturbance. For having ſeparated herſelf from him, on account of ſome jealouſies and diſguſts, and having procured a divorce, ſhe had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and ſhe joined all the diſcontented nobility, who oppoſed Angus's authority. James himſelf was diſſatisfied with the ſlavery to which he was reduced; and by ſecret correſpondence, he incited firſt Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt, by force of arms, the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprizes failed of ſucceſs; but James, impatient of reſtraint, found means at laſt of eſcaping to Stirling, where his mother then reſided; and having ſummoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglaſſes, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himſelf with great ſpirit and valour, in repreſſing thoſe feuds, ravages, and diſorders, which, though they diſturbed the courſe of public juſtice, ſerved to ſupport the martial ſpirit of the Scots, and contributed, by that means, to maintain national independency. He was deſirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in cloſe union with England, and on that account ſomewhat cold in hearkening to his propoſals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of ſuch an ally, to breed diſturbance to England. He offered the Scottiſh king the choice of three princeſſes, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his ſiſter the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his couſin the daughter of

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of Henry, whom he pretended to diſpoſe of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter propoſal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propenſity to France at laſt prevailed over all other conſiderations. The alliance with Francis neceſſarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle, Henry, to confer with him at Newcaſtle, and concert common meaſures for repreſſing the eccleſiaſtics in both kingdoms, and ſhaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himſelf in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refuſing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any perſonal negociations with an enemy of the holy ſee. From theſe meaſures, Henry eaſily concluded, that he could very little depend on the friendſhip of his nephew. But thoſe events took not place till ſome time after our preſent period.

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Religious principles of the people — of the king — of the miniſters — Farther progreſs of the reformation — Sir Thomas More — The maid of Kent — Trial and execution of Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter — of Sir Thomas More — King excommunicated — Death of Queen Catherine — Suppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries — A Parliament — A convocation — Tranſlation of the Bible — Diſgrace of Queen Anne — Her trial — and execution — A Parliament — A convocation — Diſcontents among the people — Inſurrection — Birth of prince Edward, and death of Queen Jane — Suppreſſion of the greater monaſteries — Cardinal Pole.

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1534. Religious principles of the people.

THE ancient and almoſt uninterrupted oppoſition of intereſts between the laity and clergy in England, and between the Engliſh clergy and the court of Rome, had ſufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the ſovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to diſcover abuſes, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found deſtructive of their own. Theſe ſubjects ſeemed proportioned to human underſtanding; and even the people, who felt the power of intereſt in their own breaſt, could perceive the purpoſe of thoſe numerous inventions, which the intereſted ſpirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to diſpute concerning the nature

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ture of the ſacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during ſome time, at a loſs how to chuſe their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a ſincere, but indolent acquieſcence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reaſoning, nor by thoſe prejudices and antipathies againſt opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As ſoon therefore as a new opinion was advanced, ſupported by ſuch an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for ſuch diſquiſitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the moſt oppoſite directions: Hence their ſeeming proſtitution, in ſacrificing to preſent power the moſt ſacred principles: And hence the rapid progreſs during ſome time, and the ſudden as well as entire check ſoon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once ſettled in their particular ſects, and had fortified themſelves in a habitual deteſtation of thoſe who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obſtinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

NOTHING more forwarded the firſt progreſs of the reformers, than the offer, which they made, of ſubmitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the ſummons given every one to examine the principles formerly impoſed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleaſed with it. They fancied, that they were exerciſing their judgment, while they oppoſed, to the

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prejudices of ancient authority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itſelf of the doctrines; the pleaſure of an imaginary triumph in diſpute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity, in ſuffering perſecution, death, and torments; a diſguſt at the reſtraints of the old religion; an indignation againſt the tyranny and intereſted ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics; theſe motives were prevalent with the people, and by ſuch conſiderations were men ſo generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their anceſtors.

But in proportion as the practice of ſubmitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in ſome reſpects, dangerous to the rights of ſovereigns, and ſeemed to deſtroy that implicit obedience, on which the authority of the civil magiſtrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of ſhaking ſo ancient and deep founded an eſtabliſhment as that of the Romiſh hierarchy, might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican ſpirit, which naturally took place among the reformers, encreaſed this jealouſy. The furious inſurrections of the populace, excited by Muncer and other anabaptiſts in Germany[b], furniſhed a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, becauſe proteſtants in our time prove as dutiful ſubjects as thoſe of any other communion, that therefore ſuch apprehenſions were altogether without any ſhadow of plauſibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the diſciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquieſce implicitly in thoſe eſtabliſhments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was poſſeſſed of ſuch abſolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himſelf, in his

[b] Sleidan, lib. 4. & 5.

own

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own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers[c]; and there was small likelihood, that any doctrine, which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition, could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason, which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received, from his courtiers and theologians, infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent, as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made the most humble submissions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formiable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to reliquish the remainder. Separate as he stood from the catholic church and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his speculative principles.

Of the king.

Of the ministers.

Henry's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as in-

[c] See note [F] at the end of the volume.

clination,

clination, favoured the cauſe of the reformers: Cromwel, who was created ſecretary of ſtate, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the ſame views; and as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ſecretly adopted the proteſtant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendſhip by his candour and ſincerity; virtues which he poſſeſſed in as eminent a degree as thoſe times, equally diſtracted with faction, and oppreſſed by tyranny, could eaſily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and, by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created biſhop of Wincheſter, had inliſted himſelf in the ſame party; and the ſuppleneſs of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely uſeful to it. CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

All theſe miniſters, while they ſtood in the moſt irreconcileable oppoſition of principles to each other, were obliged to diſguiſe their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the ſentiments of their maſter. Cromwel and Cranmer ſtill carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient ſpeculative tenets; but they artfully made uſe of Henry's reſentment to widen the breach with the ſee of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an aſſent to the king's ſupremacy, and to his renunciation of the ſovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his paſſion for the catholic faith; and inſtigated him to puniſh thoſe daring heretics who had preſumed to reject his theological principles. Both ſides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party: The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtſhip paid him both by proteſtants and catholics, to

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assume an unbounded authority: And though in all his measures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he casually steered a course which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any which the most profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situation, would have put both parties on their guard against him, and would have taught them reserve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: But while the frankness, sincerity, and openness of Henry's temper, were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious passions, each side dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flattered themselves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him, cordially and fully, into their interests.

The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted that spirit of innovation with which the age was generally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a steady severity in the administration, could be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tindal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp[d], where the great privileges possessed by the Low Country provinces served, during some time, to give them protection. These men employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of the church of Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question, the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other protestants, they asserted, that salvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible

Farther progress of the reformation.

[d] Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

road

road to perdition[e] was a reliance on *good works*; by which terms they underſtood, as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monaſtic obſervances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of *good works*; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the ſocial virtues, it was ſtill the ſuperſtitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books compoſed by theſe fugitives having ſtolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a tranſlation of the ſcriptures by Tindal that was eſteemed the moſt dangerous to the eſtabliſhed faith. The firſt edition of this work, compoſed with little accuracy, was found liable to conſiderable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to loſe a great part of the impreſſion, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made ſenſible. Tonſtal, then biſhop of London, ſoon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being deſirous to diſcourage, in the gentleſt manner, theſe innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapſide. By this meaſure he ſupplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great ſcandal to the people, in thus committing to the flames the word of God[f].

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The diſciples of the reformation met with little ſeverity during the miniſtry of Wolſey, who, though himſelf a clergyman, bore too ſmall a regard to the eccleſiaſtical order to ſerve as an inſtrument of their tyranny:

[e] Sacrilegium eſt et impietas velle placere Deo per opera et non per ſolam fidem. *Luther adverſus regem.* Ita videt quam dives ſit homo Chriſtianus ſive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non poteſt perdere ſalutem ſuam quantiſcunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata poſſunt eum damnare niſi incredulitas. *Ll. de captivate Babylonicâ.*

[f] Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 238. Burnet, vol. i. p. 259.

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Sir Thomas More.

It was even an article of impeachment againſt him[g], that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of hereſy, and that he had protected and acquitted ſome notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who ſucceeded Wolſey as chancellor, is at once an object deſerving our compaſſion, and an inſtance of the uſual progreſs of men's ſentiments during that age. This man, whoſe elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble ſpirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged ſentiments, and who had, in his early years, advanced principles which even at preſent would be deemed ſomewhat too free, had, in the courſe of events, been ſo irritated by polemics, and thrown into ſuch a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquiſitors have been guilty of greater violence in their proſecution of hereſy. Though adorned with the gentleſt manners, as well as the pureſt integrity, he carried to the utmoſt height his averſion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the greateſt ſeverity. Bainham, accuſed of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's houſe; and having refuſed to diſcover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his preſence, and afterwards ſent him to the Tower, where he himſelf ſaw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all theſe ſeverities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepeſt compunction for his apoſtacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obſtinate and relapſed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield[h].

MANY were brought into the biſhops' courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as ſymbols of the party: Some for teaching their children

[g] Articles of impeachment in Herbert. Burnet. [h] Fox. Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

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the Lord's prayer in Engliſh; others for reading the New Teſtament in that language, or for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimages. To harbour the perſecuted preachers, to neglect the faſts of the church, to declaim againſt the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a prieſt, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was ſo haunted by remorſe, that his friends dreaded ſome fatal effects of his deſpair. At laſt, his mind ſeemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the reſolution which he had taken, of expiating his paſt offence by an open confeſſion of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of truſting for their ſalvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowle of St. Francis, to the prayers of the ſaints, or to images. He was ſoon ſeized, tried in the biſhop's court, and condemned as a relapſed heretic; and the writ was ſent down to burn him. When brought to the ſtake, he diſcovered ſuch patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the ſpectators were much affected with the horrors of his puniſhment; and ſome mendicant friars, who were preſent, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them loſe thoſe alms which they received from the charity of the people, deſired him publicly to acquit them[i] of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied; and by this meekneſs gained the more on the ſympathy of the people. Another perſon, ſtill more heroic, being brought to the ſtake for denying the real preſence, ſeemed almoſt in a tranſport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots which were to be the inſtruments of his puniſhment, as the means of procuring him eternal reſt. In ſhort, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, thoſe ſevere executions, which,

[i] Burnet, vol. i. p. 164.

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1534. in another diſpoſition of men's minds, would have ſufficed to ſuppreſs it, now ſerved only to diffuſe it the more among the people, and to inſpire them with horror againſt the unrelenting perſecutors.

But though Henry neglected not to puniſh the proteſtant doctrine, which he deemed hereſy, his moſt formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependance on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain conſequence of aboliſhing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the aſſurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, "as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would "lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's[k]." The king took no notice of the inſult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who juſtified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a ſlanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elſton, another friar of the ſame houſe, interrupted the preacher, and told him, that he was one of the lying prophets, who ſought to eſtabliſh by adultery the ſucceſſion of the crown; but that he himſelf would juſtify all that Peyto had ſaid. Henry ſilenced the petulant friar; but ſhowed no other mark of reſentment than ordering Peyto and him to be ſummoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence[l]. He even here bore patiently ſome new inſtances of their obſtinacy and arrogance: When the earl of Eſſex, a privy counſellor, told them, that they deſerved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elſton replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land[m].

[k] Strype, vol. i. p. 167. [l] Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151. [m] Stowe, p. 562.

But

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But ſeveral monks were detected in a conſpiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its diſcovery attended with more fatal conſequences to themſelves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been ſubject to hyſterical fits, which threw her body into unuſual convulſions; and having produced an equal diſorder in her mind, made her utter ſtrange ſayings, which, as ſhe was ſcarcely conſcious of them during the time, had ſoon after entirely eſcaped her memory. The ſilly people in the neighbourhood were ſtruck with theſe appearances, which they imagined to be ſupernatural; and Richard Maſters, vicar of the pariſh, a deſigning fellow, founded on them a project, from which he hoped to acquire both profit and conſideration. He went to Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then alive; and having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he ſo far wrought on that prudent, but ſuperſtitious prelate, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future ſayings. The regard paid her by a perſon of ſo high a rank ſoon rendered her ſtill more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was eaſy for Maſters to perſuade them, as well as the maid herſelf, that her ravings were inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt. Knavery, as is uſual, ſoon after ſucceeding to deluſion, ſhe learned to counterfeit trances; and ſhe then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, ſuch ſpeeches as were dictated to her by her ſpiritual director. Maſters aſſociated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their deſign was to raiſe the credit of an image of the Virgin, which ſtood in a chapel belonging to Maſters, and to draw to it ſuch pilgrimages as uſually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In proſecution of this deſign, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourſe

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to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the preſence of a great multitude, ſhe fell anew into convulſions; and, after diſtorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, ſhe affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the interceſſion of the Virgin[m]. This miracle was ſoon bruited abroad; and the two prieſts, finding the impoſture to ſucceed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim againſt the new doctrines, which ſhe denominated hereſy; againſt innovations in eccleſiaſtical government; and againſt the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went ſo far as to aſſert, that, if he proſecuted that deſign, and married another, he ſhould not be a king a month longer, and ſhould not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but ſhould die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the deluſion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth[n]. Miracles were daily added to encreaſe the wonder; and the pulpit every where reſounded with accounts of the ſanctity and inſpirations of the new propheteſs. Meſſages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princeſs was exhorted to perſiſt in her oppoſition to the divorce; the pope's ambaſſadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, though a man of ſenſe and learning, was carried away by an opinion ſo favourable to the party which he had eſpouſed[o]. The king at laſt began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arreſted, he brought them be-

[m] Stowe, p. 570. Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles, vol. i. p. 181. [n] Strype, vol. i. p. 87. [o] Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.

fore

fore the ſtar-chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confeſſion of their guilt. The parliament, in the ſeſſion held the beginning of this year, paſſed an act of attainder againſt ſome who were engaged in this treaſonable impoſture[p]; and Elizabeth herſelf, Maſters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Riſby, Gold, ſuffered for their crime. The biſhop of Rocheſter, Abel, Addiſon, Lawrence, and others were condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon; becauſe they had not diſcovered ſome criminal ſpeeches which they heard from Elizabeth[q]: And they were thrown into priſon. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the propheteſs's miracles was detected; and even the ſcandalous proſtitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Thoſe paſſions, which ſo naturally inſinuate themſelves amidſt the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different ſexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was ſaid to have been miraculouſly opened, in order to give her acceſs to the chapel, for the ſake of frequent converſe with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Maſters for leſs refined purpoſes. CHAP. XXXI. 1534.

THE detection of this impoſture, attended with ſo many odious circumſtances, both hurt the credit of the eccleſiaſtics, particularly the monks, and inſtigated the king to take vengeance on them. He ſuppreſſed three monaſteries of the Obſervantine friars; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile, he exerciſed puniſhment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treaſon to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: They had lately added to his other 1535.

[p] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220.
[q] Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

titles,

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titles, that of ſupreme head of the church: It was inferred, that to deny his ſupremacy was treaſon; and many priors and eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives for this new ſpecies of guilt. It was certainly a high inſtance of tyranny to puniſh the mere delivery of a political opinion, eſpecially one that nowiſe affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament, in paſſing this law, had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free people, ſhould be governed: But the violence of changing ſo ſuddenly the whole ſyſtem of government, and making it treaſon to deny what, during many ages, it had been hereſy to aſſert, is an event which may appear ſomewhat extraordinary. Even the ſtern unrelenting mind of Henry was, at firſt, ſhocked with theſe ſanguinary meaſures; and he went ſo far as to change his garb and dreſs; pretending ſorrow for the neceſſity by which he was puſhed to ſuch extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and deſirous of ſtriking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fiſher and More, to conſummate his lawleſs tyranny.

Trial and execution of Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter;

JOHN FISHER, biſhop of Rocheſter, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, ſtill more than for his eccleſiaſtical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into priſon, on account of his refuſing the oath which regarded the ſucceſſion, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treaſonable ſpeeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but ſtripped of his very clothes, and, without conſideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which ſcarcely ſufficed to cover his nakedneſs[r]. In this condition he lay in priſon above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompence the ſufferings of ſo faithful an adherent, created

[r] Fuller's Church Hiſt. book 5. p. 203.

him

him a cardinal; though Fiſher was ſo indifferent about that dignity, that, even if the purple were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not ſtoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his oppoſition to royal authority, rouzed the indignation of the king; and he reſolved to make the innocent perſon feel the effects of his reſentment. Fiſher was indicted for denying the king's ſupremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded. CHAP. XXXI. 1535. 2nd June.

THE execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whoſe compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiouſly deſired by the king. That prince alſo bore as great perſonal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the ſport of paſſions, was ſuſceptible of towards a man, who in any particular oppoſed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion ſo contrary to his principles as that of the king's ſupremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was, as yet, no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpoſe. Rich, the ſolicitor general, was ſent to confer with More, then a priſoner, who kept a cautious ſilence with regard to the ſupremacy: He was only inveigled to ſay, that any queſtion with regard to the law which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was a two-edged ſword: If a perſon anſwer one way, it will confound his ſoul; if another, it will deſtroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treaſon againſt the priſoner. His ſilence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and theſe words, which had caſually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the ſupremacy[s]. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: The jury gave ſentence againſt More, who had long expected this fate, of Sir Thomas More.

[s] More's Life of Sir Thomas More, Herbert, p. 393.

and

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1535. and who needed no preparation to fortify him againſt the terrors of death. Not only his conſtancy, but even his cheerfulneſs, nay, his uſual facetiouſneſs never forſook him; and he made a ſacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the ſame indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I "come down again, let me ſhift for myſelf." The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading "me, my neck is ſo ſhort." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner ſtay till he put aſide his beard: "For," ſaid he, "it never committed treaſon." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cauſe, more free from weakneſs and ſuperſtition. But as the man followed his principles and ſenſe of duty, however miſguided, his conſtancy and integrity are not the

6th July. leſs objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

When the execution of Fiſher and More was reported at Rome, eſpecially that of the former, who was inveſted with the dignity of cardinal, every one diſcovered the moſt violent rage againſt the king; and numerous libels were publiſhed, by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the moſt unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII. had died about ſix months after he pronounced ſentence againſt the king; and Paul III. of the name of Farneſe, had ſucceeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who, while cardinal, had always favoured Henry's cauſe, had hoped, that perſonal animoſities being buried with his predeceſſor, it might not be impoſſible to form an agreement with England: And the king himſelf was ſo deſirous of accommodating matters, that, in a negociation, which he entered into with Francis a little before this time,

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time, he required, that that monarch ſhould conciliate a friendſhip between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accuſtomed to preſcribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negociating for peace, his uſual violence often carried him to commit offences, which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fiſher was regarded by Paul as ſo capital an injury, that he immediately paſſed cenſures againſt the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to anſwer for their crimes: If they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; diſſolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms againſt him; freed his ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign ſtates; and declared it lawful for any one to ſeize them, to make ſlaves of their perſons, and to convert their effects to his own uſe[t]. But though theſe cenſures were paſſed, they were not at that time openly denounced: The pope delayed their publication, till he ſhould find an agreement with England entirely deſperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard preſſed by the Turks and the proteſtant princes in Germany, ſhould be in a condition to carry the ſentence into execution.

1535.

30th Aug.

King excommunicated.

THE king knew that he might expect any injury, which it ſhould be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his reſentment upon him[u]. He renewed his friendſhip with Francis, and opened negociations for marrying his infant-daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angouleme, third ſon of Francis. Theſe two monarchs alſo made advances to the

[t] Sanders, p. 148. [u] Herbert, p. 350, 351.

princes

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1535. princes of the proteſtant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: And Henry, beſides remitting them ſome money, ſent Fox, biſhop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay, lord of Langley, to treat with them. But during the firſt fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of intereſts, to be eſſential to a good correſpondence among ſtates; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confeſſion of Augſburg, it was looked upon as a bad ſymptom of their ſincerity, that they exerciſed ſuch extreme rigour againſt all preachers of the reformation in their reſpective dominions[w]. Henry carried the feint ſo far, that, while he thought himſelf the firſt theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and inſtruct him in the foundation of their tenets. Theſe theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philoſopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with moſt reſpect, had ever reached equal applauſe and admiration with thoſe wretched compoſers of metaphyſical polemics. The German princes told the king, that they could not ſpare their divines; and as Henry had no hopes of agreement with ſuch zealous diſputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not aſſociate with the diſciples of Zuinglius, becauſe, though they agreed in every thing elſe, they differed in ſome minute particulars with regard to the euchariſt, he was the more indifferent on account of this refuſal. He could alſo foreſee, that, even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their intereſts to oppoſe the emperor: And the hatred between Francis and that monarch was ſo inveterate, that he

[w] Sleidan, lib. 10.

deemed himself sure of a sincere ally in one or other of these potentates. CHAP. XXXI.

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During those negociations an incident happened in England, which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave: She died at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; in which she gave him the appellation of *her most dear Lord, King, and Husband.* She told him, that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: That though his fondness towards these perishable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things*[z]. The king was touched even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit[y]. 1536. 6th Jan. Death of queen Catherine.

The emperor thought that, as the demise of his aunt had removed all foundation of personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his

[z] Herbert, p. 403. [y] Burnet, vol. i. p. 192.

own

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1536. own confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to ancient amity, upon these conditions[z]; that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome, that he should assist him in his war with the Turk, and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge, that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: As to the conditions proposed; the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him, against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with the emperor was once fully restored, he should then be in a situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

WHAT rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, was, both his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without issue; and the emperor maintained, that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him, as head of the Germanic body: Not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince, who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to

[z] Du Bellay, liv. 5. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. N° 50.

Milan

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Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to ſubſtitute his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to cloſe with this propoſal. But his ſole intention in that liberal conceſſion was to gain time, till he ſhould put himſelf in a warlike poſture, and be able to carry an invaſion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between theſe princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in perſonal inſults on each other, ill-becoming perſons of their rank, and ſtill leſs ſuitable to men of ſuch unqueſtioned bravery. Charles ſoon after invaded Provence in perſon, with an army of fifty thouſand men; but met with no ſucceſs. His army periſhed with ſickneſs, fatigue, famine, and other diſaſters; and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Marſeilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialiſts, near 30,000 ſtrong, which invaded France on the ſide of the Netherlands, and laid ſiege to Peronne, made no greater progreſs, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the ſatisfaction to find, both that his ally, Francis, was likely to ſupport himſelf without foreign aſſiſtance, and that his own tranquillity was fully enſured by theſe violent wars and animoſities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the Engliſh court, it was ſolely occaſioned by the ſtate of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous ſituation of his ally, Francis, generouſly levied ſome forces; and embarking them on board veſſels, which he had hired for that purpoſe, landed them ſafely in France. He even went over in perſon; and making haſte to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulſed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by ſo agreeable and ſeaſonable an inſtance of friendſhip, the king of Scots paid his addreſſes to Magdalen,

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1536. daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match, than what arose from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend: They were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid, left his ally, Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommerayo to London, in order to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his measures more by humour and passion, than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was so fettered by the opposition, in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the side of France and of Scotland.

The domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard, by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing ensured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown, was profound during that age: The personal respect, inspired by Henry, was considerable;

and even the terrors, with which he over-awed every one, were not attended with any conſiderable degree of hatred. His frankneſs, his ſincerity, his magnificence, his generoſity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuoſity. And the important rank which his vigour, more than his addreſs, acquired him in all foreign negociations flattered the vanity of Engliſhmen, and made them the more willingly endure thoſe domeſtic hardſhips to which they were expoſed. The king, conſcious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the moſt dangerous exerciſe of his authority; and after paving the way for that meaſure by ſeveral preparatory expedients, he was at laſt determined to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, and to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of their ample revenues.

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THE great encreaſe of monaſteries, if matters be conſidered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other diſadvantage, attending that communion, ſeems to have an inſeparable connection with theſe religious inſtitutions. Papal uſurpations, the tyranny of the inquiſition, the multiplicity of holidays; all theſe fetters on liberty and induſtry were ultimately derived from the authority and inſinuation of monks, whoſe habitations, being eſtabliſhed every where, proved ſo many ſeminaries of ſuperſtition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged againſt Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the ſole protection which they enjoyed againſt the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now ſubjected to the king's viſitation; the ſuppoſed ſacredneſs of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progreſs of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monaſtic orders, gave them reaſon to apprehend like conſequences in England; and though the king ſtill maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which moſt

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1536. of the convents owed their origin and ſupport, it was foreſeen, that, in the progreſs of the conteſt, he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient inſtitutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political intereſts naturally induced him to unite. Moved by theſe conſiderations, the friars employed all their influence to enflame the people againſt the king's government; and Henry, finding their ſafety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to ſeize the preſent opportuninty, and utterly deſtroy his declared enemies.

CROMWEL, ſecretary of ſtate, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's ſupremacy, or the abſolute, uncontroulable power, aſſumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellaſis, and others, as commiſſioners, who carried on, every where, a rigorous enquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, eſpecially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adverſaries; and as it was known, that the king's intention in this viſitation was to find a pretence for aboliſhing monaſteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commiſſioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations againſt their brethren; the ſlighteſt evidence was credited; and even the calumnies, ſpread abroad by the friends of the reformation, were regarded as grounds of proof. Monſtrous diſorders are therefore ſaid to have been found in many of the religious houſes: Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdneſs: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural luſts between perſons of the ſame ſex. It is indeed probable, that the blind ſubmiſſion of the people, during thoſe ages, would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more diſſolute, than they

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they are in any Roman Catholic country at present: But still, the reproaches which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices naturally connected with the very institution of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who, being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds, practised to encrease the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no question; and, though monks were the true preservers, as well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whose lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind, or cultivate the genius.

Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition, carried on by Cromwel and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were, on that account, supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to

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prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions which, to their ancestors, had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

4th Feb.

A parliament.

THE king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year[a]. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny[b]; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more[c]. It does not appear, that any opposition was made to this important law: So absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony[d].

Suppression of the lesser monasteries.

THE act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon-law was renewed; but the project was never carried into

[a] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28. [b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

[c] It is pretended, see Hollingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession. [d] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.

execution.

execution. Henry thought that the present perplexity of that law encreased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependance. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

FARTHER progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: The separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished[e] this session.

THE commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law[f], such as he dictated to them. It was enacted, that the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.

AFTER all these laws were passed, the king dissolved the parliament; a parliament memorable, not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sitten, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will, that he did not chuse, during those religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same parliament above six years; A practice, at that time, unusual in England. 14th April.

THE convocation, which sat during this session, was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new translation which was projected of the scriptures. The translation given by Tindal, though corrected by himself in a new edition, was still complained of by the clergy, as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now proposed to them, that they should themselves publish A convocation.

[e] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4. [f] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

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a tranſlation, which would not be liable to thoſe objections.

1536. THE friends of the reformation aſſerted, that nothing could be more abſurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itſelf, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which, for the purpoſe of univerſal ſalvation, had publiſhed that ſalutary doctrine to all nations: That if this practice were not very abſurd, the artifice at leaſt was very groſs, and proved a conſciouſneſs, that the gloſſes and traditions of the clergy ſtood in direct oppoſition to the original text, dictated by Supreme Intelligence: That it was now neceſſary for the people, ſo long abuſed by intereſted pretenſions, to ſee with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the eccleſiaſtics were founded on that charter, which was, on all hands, acknowledged to be derived from heaven: And that, as a ſpirit of reſearch and curioſity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different ſects, the proper materials for deciſion, and above all, the holy ſcriptures, ſhould be ſet before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had ſomewhat obſcured, be again, by their means, revealed to mankind.

THE favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people ſee with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itſelf a very groſs artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to ſeduce them from thoſe paſtors, whom the laws, whom ancient eſtabliſhments, whom heaven itſelf had appointed for their ſpiritual direction: That the people were, by their ignorance, their ſtupidity, their neceſſary avocations, totally unqualified to chuſe their own principles; and it was a mockery to ſet materials before them, of which they could not poſſibly

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possibly make any proper use: That, even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had, in a great measure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour: That theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: That the gross errors adopted by the wisest heathens proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkness; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, those fatal illusions: That sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, gave rise to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon that could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: That the poetical style, in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: That a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the most monstrous principles: And that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of

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of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or enquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more secure, establishments.

These latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a considerable advancement of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected, after such important successes.

But while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness, Anne Boleyn, possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life, by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had preserved in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted, and still encreased, under difficulties, had not long attained secure possession of its object, when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious,

Disgrace of queen Anne.

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was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune[s]. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealousy. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

ANNE, though she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous, in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity, of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen: The viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and, not content with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen's, and represented each instance of favour which she conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark

[s] Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.

Smeton,

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1536. Smeton, groom of the chamber, were obſerved to poſſeſs much of the queen's friendſhip; and they ſerved her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be ſeaſoned with ſome mixture of tenderneſs for ſo amiable a princeſs. The king's jealouſy laid hold of the ſlighteſt circumſtance; and finding no particular object on which it could faſten, it vented itſelf equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

HAD Henry's jealouſy been derived from love, though it might on a ſudden have proceeded to the moſt violent extremities, it would have been ſubject to many remorſes and contrarieties; and might at laſt have ſerved only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more ſtern jealouſy, foſtered entirely by pride: His love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire aſcendant over him; and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to moſt monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damſels of their court rather honoured than diſgraced by their paſſion, he ſeldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than thoſe which he ſought to avoid, by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the deſign of raiſing his new miſtreſs to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every ſuggeſtion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

1ſt May. THE king's jealouſy firſt appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably caſual, but interpreted

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preted by him as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours[h]. He immediately retired from the place; ſent orders to confine her to her chamber; arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, together with her brother, Rocheford; and threw them into priſon. The queen, aſtoniſhed at theſe inſtances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but finding him in earneſt, ſhe reflected on his obſtinate unrelenting ſpirit, and ſhe prepared herſelf for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day ſhe was ſent to the Tower; and on her way thither ſhe was informed of her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had hitherto been ignorant: She made earneſt proteſtations of her innocence; and when ſhe entered the priſon, ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed God ſo to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her ſurpriſe and confuſion threw her into hyſterical diſorders; and, in that ſituation, ſhe thought that the beſt proof of her innocence was to make an entire confeſſion, and ſhe revealed ſome indiſcretions and levities, which her ſimplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that ſhe had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him, that he probably expected her, when ſhe ſhould be a widow: She had reproved Weſton, ſhe ſaid, for his affection to a kinſwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife: But he told her, that ſhe had miſtaken the object of his affection, for it was herſelf: Upon which ſhe defied him[i]. She affirmed, that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpſichord: But ſhe acknowledged that he had once had the boldneſs to tell her, that a look ſufficed him. The king, inſtead of being ſatisfied with the candour and ſincerity of her confeſſion, regarded theſe indiſcretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

[h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 198.

[i] Strype, vol. i. p. 281.

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Of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged, during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connexions of party to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence[k]. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen[l]; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him, if he would confess his crime, and accuse

[k] See note [G] at the end of the volume.

[l] Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

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the queen: But he generouſly rejected the propoſal; and ſaid, that in his conſcience he believed her entirely guiltleſs: But, for his part, he could accuſe her of nothing, and he would rather die a thouſand deaths than calumniate an innocent perſon. CHAP. XXXI. 1536.

THE queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, conſiſting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: Their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, preſided as high ſteward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of inceſt was imputed to them, is unknown: The chief evidence, it is ſaid, amounted to no more, than that Rocheford had been ſeen to lean on her bed before ſome company. Part of the charge againſt her was, that ſhe had affirmed to her minions, that the king never had her heart; and had ſaid to each of them apart, that ſhe loved him better than any perſon whatſoever: *Which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the king and her.* By this ſtrained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the ſtatute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any ſlander upon the king, queen, or their iſſue. Such palpable abſurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a ſufficient reaſon for ſacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unaſſiſted by counſel, ſhe defended herſelf with preſence of mind; and the ſpectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both againſt the queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained, that ſhe ſhould be burned or beheaded at the king's pleaſure. When this dreadful ſentence was pronounced, ſhe was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, "O, "Father! O, Creator! thou who art the way, the "truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have not "deſerved Her trial;

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"deserved this fate." And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate: He recalled to his memory, that, a little after her appearance in the English court, some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them: He received the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council; and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity[m]. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king[n]. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged by this confession to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that, if her marriage were, from the beginning, invalid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

and execution.

The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him, in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: From a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She

m Herbert, p. 384. n Heylin, p. 54.

then

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then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with cheerfulneſs. "The executioner," ſhe ſaid to the lieutenant, "is, I "hear, very expert; and my neck is very ſlender:" Upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and ſmiled. When brought, however, to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little with regard to her proteſtations of innocence. She probably reflected, that the obſtinacy of queen Catherine, and her oppoſition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary: Her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in theſe laſt moments over that indignation which the unjuſt ſentence, by which ſhe ſuffered, naturally excited in her. She ſaid, that ſhe was come to die, as ſhe was ſentenced, by the law: She would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and if any one ſhould think proper to canvaſs her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt *. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was ſent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower. 19th May.

THE innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion. Henry himſelf, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuſe as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four perſons more, he was able to bring proof againſt none of them. The whole tenour of her conduct for-

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

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bids us to aſcribe to her an abandoned character, ſuch as is implied in the king's accuſation: Had ſhe been ſo loſt to all prudence and ſenſe of ſhame, ſhe muſt have expoſed herſelf to detection, and afforded her enemies ſome evidence againſt her. But the king made the moſt effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution[p]. His impatience to gratify this new paſſion cauſed him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not ſoftened a moment by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon, who had ſo long been the object of his moſt tender affections.

THE lady Mary thought the death of her ſtep-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herſelf to the king, who, beſides other cauſes of diſguſt, had been offended with her, on account of the part which ſhe had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at firſt received; and Henry exacted from her ſome farther proofs of ſubmiſſion and obedience: He required this young princeſs, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his ſupremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and inceſtuous. Theſe points were of hard digeſtion with the princeſs; but after ſome delays, and even refuſals, ſhe was at laſt prevailed on to write a letter to her father[q], containing her aſſent to the articles required of her: Upon which ſhe was received into favour. But notwithſtanding the return of the king's affection to the iſſue of his firſt marriage, he diveſted not himſelf of kindneſs towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was bleſt with a ſingular ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, diſcovered ſtrong proofs of attachment towards her.

8th June. A parliament.

THE trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the ſubſequent events, made it neceſſary for the king to ſummon

[p] Ibidem, p. 207. [q] Burnet, vol. i. p. 207. Strype, vol. i. p. 285.

a new parliament; and he, here, in his ſpeech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithſtanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The ſpeaker received this profeſſion with ſuitable gratitude; and he took thence occaſion to praiſe the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: He compared him, for juſtice and prudence, to Solomon; for ſtrength and fortitude to Sampſon; and for beauty and comelineſs to Abſalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he diſavowed theſe praiſes; ſince, if he were really poſſeſſed of ſuch endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no leſs ſubmiſſive in deeds than complaiſant in their expreſſions, and that they would go the ſame lengths as the former in gratifying even his moſt lawleſs paſſions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified [r]; that queen, and all her accomplices, were attainted; the iſſue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treaſon to aſſert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any ſlander upon the preſent king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the ſame penalty; the crown was ſettled on the king's iſſue by Jane Seymour, or any ſubſequent wife; and in caſe he ſhould die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to diſpoſe of the crown: An enormous authority, eſpecially when entruſted to a prince ſo violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any article of this act of ſettlement, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; and by this clauſe a ſpecies of political in-

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[r] The parliament, in annulling the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, gives this as a reaſon, "For that his highneſs had choſen to wife the excellent and virtuous lady Jane, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, "and pureneſs of fleſh and blood, would be apt, God willing, to conceive "iſſue by his highneſs."

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quiſition was eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, as well as the accuſations of treaſon multiplied to an unreaſonable degree. The king was alſo empowered to confer on any one by his will or letters patent, any caſtles, honours, liberties, or franchiſes; words which might have been extended to the diſmembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent juriſdictions. It was alſo, by another act, made treaſon to marry, without the king's conſent, any princeſs related in the firſt degree to the crown. This act was occaſioned by the diſcovery of a deſign, formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to eſpouſe the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his ſiſter the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty ſoon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder paſſed againſt him this ſeſſion of parliament.

ANOTHER acceſſion was likewiſe gained to the authority of the crown: The king, or any of his ſucceſſors, was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been paſſed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the biſhop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to reſtore it in England, was ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any perſon who poſſeſſed any office, eccleſiaſtical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refuſed to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treaſon. The renunciation preſcribed runs in the ſtyle of *So help me God, all ſaints, and the holy evangeliſts*[s]. The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's diſgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making ſome advances to Henry:

[s] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

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But this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal cenſures; and finding a great encreaſe of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to perſevere in his preſent meaſures. This parliament alſo, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the reſpect of his ſubjects, and what confidence he might repoſe in them. Though the elections had been made on a ſudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members diſcovered an unlimited attachment to his perſon and government[t].

A convocation.

THE extreme complaiſance of the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time with the parliament, encouraged him in his reſolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was ſecretly a great diviſion of ſentiments in the minds of this aſſembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by ſome late ſucceſſes, the reſentment of the catholics was no leſs excited by their fears and loſſes: But the authority of the king kept every one ſubmiſſive and ſilent; and the new-aſſumed prerogative, the ſupremacy, with whoſe limits no one was fully acquainted, reſtrained even the moſt furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwel preſided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great ſhock, they were ſurprized to find him ſtill maintain the ſame credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The oppoſite faction was headed by Lee archbiſhop of York, Stokeſley biſhop of London, Tonſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carliſle. The former

[t] Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

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THE church in general was averſe to the reformation; and the lower houſe of convocation framed a liſt of opinions, in the whole ſixty-ſeven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, ſome held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern proteſtants, or Goſpellers, as they were ſometimes called. Theſe opinions they ſent to the upper houſe to be cenſured; but in the preamble of their repreſentation, they diſcovered the ſervile ſpirit by which they were governed. They ſaid, "that they intended not to do or ſpeak any "thing which might be unpleaſant to the king, whom "they acknowledge their ſupreme head, and whoſe com-"mands they were reſolved to obey; renouncing the "pope's uſurped authority, with all his laws and inven-"tions, now extinguiſhed and aboliſhed; and addicting "themſelves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto "the king and the laws made within this kingdom[u]."

THE convocation came at laſt, after ſome debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the aſſembly itſelf, or rather as the king's ſyſtem of theology, by which they were reſolved entirely to ſquare their principles. They determined the ſtandard of faith to conſiſt in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apoſtolic, Nicene, and Athanaſian; and this article was a ſignal victory to the reformers: Auricular confeſſion and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: No mention was made of marriage, extreme

[u] Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

unction,

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unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as ſacraments; and in this omiſſion the influence of the proteſtants appeared: The real preſence was aſſerted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were eſtabliſhed to be the merits of Chriſt, and the mercy and good pleaſure of God, ſuitably to the new principles.

So far the two ſects ſeem to have made a fair partition, by alternately ſharing the ſeveral clauſes. In framing the ſubſequent articles, each of them ſeems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in aſſerting, that the uſe of images was warranted by Scripture; the proteſtants, in warning the people againſt idolatry, and the abuſe of theſe ſenſible repreſentations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to ſaints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of ſaints to any trade, profeſſion, or courſe of action. The former rites of worſhip, the uſe of holy water, and the ceremonies practiſed on Aſh-wedneſday, Palm-ſunday, Good-friday, and other feſtivals, were ſtill maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of theſe inſtitutions, were alſo adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting ſin, and by its aſſerting that their ſole merit conſiſted in promoting pious and devout diſpoſitions in the mind.

But the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the moſt curious jargon, ambiguity, and heſitation, ariſing from the mixture of oppoſite tenets. It was to this purpoſe; "Since, according to due order of charity, and "the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it "is a very good and charitable deed to pray for ſouls de-"parted; and ſince ſuch a practice has been maintained "in the church from the beginning; all biſhops and "teachers ſhould inſtruct the people not to be grieved "for the continuance of the ſame. But ſince the place

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"where departed ſouls are retained, before they reach "Paradiſe, as well as the nature of their pains, is left "uncertain by Scripture; all ſuch queſtions are to be "ſubmitted to God, to whoſe mercy it is meet and con- "venient to commend the deceaſed, truſting that he ac- "cepteth our prayers for them[w]."

THESE articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were ſubſcribed by every member of that aſſembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found, except Henry himſelf, who had adopted preciſely theſe very doctrines and opinions. For, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets abovementioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious diviſions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and theſe conſiſted only of ſpeculative or whimſical people, of whom two perſons could ſcarcely be brought to an agreement in the ſame dogmas. The proteſtants, all of them, carried their oppoſition to Rome farther than thoſe articles: None of the catholics went ſo far: And the king, by being able to retain the nation in ſuch a delicate medium, diſplayed the utmoſt power of an imperious deſpotiſm, of which any hiſtory furniſhes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when ſeconded by a party, is one of the moſt perilous enterprizes which any ſovereign can attempt, and often proves the moſt deſtructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to ſet the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even ſtop its career: He could ſay to it, Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther: And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation ſubſervient, not only to his intereſts and paſſions, but even to his greateſt

[w] Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & ſeq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

caprices;

caprices; nay, to his moſt refined and moſt ſcholaſtic ſubtilties. CHAP. XXXI.

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THE concurrence of theſe two national aſſemblies ſerved, no doubt, to encreaſe the king's power over the people, and raiſed him to an authority more abſolute, than any prince, in a ſimple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds, beyond which the moſt ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the diſſolution of the ſmaller monaſteries, and the imminent danger to which all the reſt were expoſed[x], had bred diſcontent among the people, and had diſpoſed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compaſſion of men; and as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives, ſuited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raiſe the ſtrongeſt zeal in its favour[y]. Diſcontents had even reached ſome of the nobility and gentry, whoſe anceſtors had founded the monaſteries, and who placed a vanity in thoſe inſtitutions, as well as reaped ſome benefit from them, by the proviſions which they afforded them for their younger children. The more ſuperſtitious were intereſted for the ſouls of their forefathers, which, they believed, muſt now lie, during many ages, in the torments of purgatory, for want of maſſes to relieve them. It ſeemed unjuſt to aboliſh pious inſtitutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the moſt moderate and reaſonable deemed it ſomewhat iniquitous, that men, who had been invited into a courſe of life by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, ſhould be turned out of their poſſeſſions, and ſo little care be taken of their future ſubſiſtence. And when it was obſerved, that the rapacity and bribery of the com-

Diſcontents among the people.

[x] See note [H] at the end of the volume.

[y] Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

miſſioners

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missioners and others, employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to encrease the general discontent[z].

But the people did not break into open sedition, till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of the regular. As Cromwel's person was little acceptable to the ecclesiastics; the authority which he exercised being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance, by which he retrenched many of the ancient holydays; prohibited several superstitions, gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous servitude, instilled into the people those discontents, which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

The first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men[a]; but, notwithstanding their number, they showed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons meanly born raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: And they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm

Insurrection.

[z] Burnet, vol. i. p. 223. [a] Ibid. p. 227. Herbert.

concerning

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concerning the redreſs of theſe grievances [b]. Henry was little diſpoſed to entertain apprehenſions of danger, eſpecially from a low multitude, whom he deſpiſed. He ſent forces againſt the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very ſharp anſwer to their petition. There were ſome gentry, whom the populace had conſtrained to take part with them, and who kept a ſecret correſpondonce with Suffolk. They informed him, that reſentment againſt the king's reply was the chief cauſe which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder anſwer would probably ſuppreſs the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march againſt the rebels; and being ſo well ſupported by power, he thought that, without loſing his dignity, he might now ſhow them ſome greater condeſcenſion. He ſent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect: The populace was diſperſed: Mackrel and ſome of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed: The greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their uſual occupations: A few of the more obſtinate fled to the north, where they joined the inſurrection that was raiſed in thoſe parts.

THE northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were alſo, on other accounts, more formidable than thoſe of Lincolnſhire; becauſe the people were there more accuſtomed to arms, and becauſe of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of theſe diſorders. One Aſke, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he poſſeſſed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprize they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*: Some prieſts marched before in the habits of their order, carrying croſſes in their hands: In their banners was

[b] Herbert, p. 410.

woven

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woven a crucifix, with the repreſentation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Chriſt[c]: They wore on their ſleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jeſus wrought in the middle: They all took an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive, than their love to God, their care of the king's perſon and iſſue, their deſire of purifying the nobility, of driving baſe-born perſons from about the king, of reſtoring the church, and of ſuppreſſing hereſy. Allured by theſe fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaſter, and thoſe northern provinces, flocked to their ſtandard; and their zeal, no leſs than their numbers, inſpired the court with apprehenſions.

THE earl of Shrewſbury, moved by his regard for the king's ſervice, raiſed forces, though at firſt without any commiſſion, in order to oppoſe the rebels. The earl of Cumberland repulſed them from his caſtle of Skipton: Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborow-caſtle againſt them[d]: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's couſin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops. The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: They had laid ſiege to Pomfret-caſtle, into which the archbiſhop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themſelves. It was ſoon ſurrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who ſecretly wiſhed ſucceſs to the inſurrection, ſeemed to yield to the force impoſed on them, and joined the rebels.

THE duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces againſt the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court which ſupported the ancient religion, he was alſo ſuſpected of bearing ſome favour to the cauſe which he was ſent to oppoſe. His prudent conduct, however,

[c] Fox, vol. ii. p. 992. [d] Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

however, ſeems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaſter, together with the earl of Shrewſbury; and as his army was ſmall, ſcarcely exceeding five thouſand men, he made choice of a poſt where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purpoſed to defend againſt the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but, during the night, there fell ſuch violent rains as rendered the river utterly impaſſable; and Norfolk wiſely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negociation, he ſent them a herald; whom Aſke, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himſelf ſitting in a chair of ſtate, with the archbiſhop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed, that two gentlemen ſhould be diſpatched to the king with propoſals from the rebels; and Henry purpoſely delayed giving an anſwer, and allured them with hopes of entire ſatisfaction, in expectation that neceſſity would ſoon oblige them to diſperſe themſelves. Being informed that his artifice had, in a great meaſure, ſucceeded, he required them inſtantly to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to mercy; promiſing a pardon to all except ſix whom he named, and four whom he reſerved to himſelf the power of naming. But though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of ſubſiſtence, they had entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements to return to their ſtandards, in caſe the king's anſwer ſhould not prove ſatisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, ſoon found himſelf in the ſame difficulty as before; and he opened again a negociation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to ſend three hundred perſons to Doncaſter, with propoſals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and ſeparate intereſts, to throw diſſention among ſo great a number. Aſke himſelf had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hoſtage for his ſecurity:

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But

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1536. But the king, when conſulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he eſteemed ſo little as to put him in pledge for ſuch a villain. The demands of the rebels were ſo exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the conteſt by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and ſpirit; and, notwithſtanding the ſmall river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reaſon to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to paſs the ford, rain fell a ſecond time in ſuch abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their deſign; and the populace, partly reduced to neceſſity by want of proviſions, partly ſtruck with ſuperſtition at being thus again diſappointed by the ſame accident, ſuddenly diſperſed themſelves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the diſperſion by the promiſe of a general amneſty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He publiſhed, however, a manifeſto againſt the rebels, and an anſwer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty ſtyle, ſuited to ſo haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our "whole council, think it right ſtrange that ye, who be "but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to ap"point us, who be meet or not for our council."

8th Dec.

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march into the northern parts, in order to exact a general ſubmiſſion. Lord Darcy, as well as Aſke, was ſent for to court; and the former, upon his refuſal or delay to appear, was thrown into priſon. Every place was full of jealouſy and complaints. A new inſurrection broke out, headed by Muſgrave and Tilby; and the rebels

bels beſieged Carliſle with 8000 men. Being repulſed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made priſoners of all their officers, except Muſgrave, who eſcaped, he inſtantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of ſeventy perſons. An attempt, made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam, to ſurprize Hull, met with no better ſucceſs; and ſeveral other riſings were ſuppreſſed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by theſe multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and, from a movement of his uſual violence, he made the innocent ſuffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his maſter, ſpread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the puniſhment of offenders. Beſides Aſke, leader of the firſt inſurrection, Sir Robert Conſtable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into priſon; and moſt of them were condemned and executed. Lord Huſſey was found guilty as an accomplice in the inſurrection of Lincolnſhire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulſion, and appealed, for his juſtification, to a long life ſpent in the ſervice of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accuſed Norfolk of having ſecretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either ſenſible of that nobleman's ſervices, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of ſuch extenſive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now ſatiated with puniſhing the rebels, he publiſhed anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered[c]; and he erected, by patent, a court of juſtice at York, for deciding law-ſuits in the northern counties: A demand which had been made by the rebels.

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[c] Herbert, p. 428.

Soon

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1537. October 12. Birth of prince Edward, and death of queen Jane.

Soon after this proſperous ſucceſs, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happineſs without allay: The queen died two days after[f]. But a ſon had ſo long been ardently wiſhed for by Henry, and was now become ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, after the acts declaring the two princeſſes illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expreſſed great ſatisfaction on the occaſion. The prince, not ſix days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Cheſter. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made Lord Beauchamp, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir William Paulet, Lord St. John; Sir John Ruſſel, Lord Ruſſel.

1538. The ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, and the birth of a ſon, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, encreaſed his conſideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various ſucceſs, and without any deciſive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without neceſſity, either hazard or expence on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between theſe potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry continued deſirous of cementing a union with the German proteſtants; and, for that purpoſe, he ſent Chriſtopher Mount to a congreſs which they held at Brunſ-

[f] Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

wick;

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wick; but that minister made no great progress in his negociation. The princes wished to know what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negociate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king, that he was guilty of a mistake, in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy[g]. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassador without coming to any conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the scripture which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That "this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of "his goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore "should use it moderately, for the encrease of virtue, not "of strife: And he ordered that no man should read the "Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he sang "mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places, with-"out advice from the learned." In this measure, as in the rest, he still halted half way between the catholics and the protestants.

THERE was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: This measure was the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed fa-

Suppression of the greater monasteries.

[g] Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. From the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

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vourable for that great enterprize, while the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion fortified and encreaſed the royal authority; and as ſome of the abbots were ſuſpected of having encouraged the inſurrection, and of correſponding with the rebels, the king's reſentment was farther incited by that motive. A new viſitation was appointed of all the monaſteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their ſuppreſſion, it was eaſy for a prince, poſſeſſed of ſuch unlimited power, and ſeconding the preſent humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were expoſed; and having learned, by the example of the leſſer monaſteries, that nothing could withſtand the king's will, they were moſt of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary reſignation of their houſes. Where promiſes failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as ſeveral of the abbots, ſince the breach with Rome, had been named by the court, with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more eaſily effected. Some alſo, having ſecretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the deſign was conducted with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in leſs than two years, the king had got poſſeſſion of all the monaſtic revenues.

In ſeveral places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great intereſt was made to preſerve ſome convents of women, who, as they lived in the moſt irreproachable manner, juſtly merited, it was thought, that their houſes ſhould be ſaved from the general deſtruction[b]. There appeared alſo great difference between the caſe of nuns and that of friars; and the one inſtitution might be laudable, while the other was expoſed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with induſtry, might be

[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

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of ſervice to the public; and none of them could want employment ſuited to his ſtation and capacity. But a woman of family, who failed of a ſettlement in the married ſtate, an accident to which ſuch perſons were more liable than women of lower ſtation, had really no rank which ſhe properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her ſituation. But the king was determined to aboliſh monaſteries of every denomination; and probably thought, that theſe ancient eſtabliſhments would be the ſooner forgotten, if no remains of them, of any kind, were allowed to ſubſiſt in the kingdom.

THE better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, ſtories were propagated of the deteſtable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame thoſe whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques alſo, and other ſuperſtitions, which had ſo long been the object of the people's veneration, were expoſed to their ridicule; and the religious ſpirit, now leſs bent on exterior obſervances and ſenſible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needleſs to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Proteſtant hiſtorians mention, on this occaſion, with great triumph, the ſacred repoſitories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin ſhewn in eleven ſeveral places; two or three heads of St. Urſula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaſter, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's ſhirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; ſome reliques, an excellent preventive againſt rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But ſuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the moſt refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the catholic religion.

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THERE were alſo diſcovered, or ſaid to be diſcovered, in the monaſteries, ſome impoſtures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Glouceſter, there had been ſhown, during ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt brought from Jeruſalem; and it is eaſy to imagine the veneration with which ſuch a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumſtance alſo attended this miraculous relique; the ſacred blood was not viſible to any one in mortal ſin, even when ſet before him; and till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution, it would not deign to diſcover itſelf to him. At the diſſolution of the monaſtery, the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the ſecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it in a phial, one ſide of which conſiſted of thin and tranſparent cryſtal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhow him the dark ſide of the phial, till maſſes and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhauſted, they made him happy by turning the phial[i].

A MIRACULOUS crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilſey, biſhop of Rocheſter, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's croſs, and ſhowed to the whole people the ſprings and wheels by which it had been ſecretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was alſo brought to London, and cut in pieces: And by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Foreſt[k], who was puniſhed for denying the ſupremacy, and for ſome pretended hereſies. A finger of St. Andrew, co-

[i] Herbert, p. 432, 432. Stowe, p. 575.

[k] Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

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vered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor, on account of his pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also, the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which, they pretended, his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six pence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and six pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year, the disproportion was still greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three pence[1]. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 244.

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on the ſhrine a jewel, eſteemed the richeſt in Chriſtendom. It is evident, how obnoxious to Henry a ſaint of this character muſt appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich ſhrine, dedicated to St. Thomas: He made the ſaint himſelf be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: He ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the calendar; the office for his feſtival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the aſhes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king, at different times, ſuppreſſed ſix hundred and forty-five monaſteries: Of which twenty-eight had abbots, that enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels: A hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand one hundred pounds[m]. It is worthy of obſervation, that all the lands and poſſeſſions and revenue of England had, a little before this period, been rated at four millions a year; ſo that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the leſſer monaſteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A ſum vaſtly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were uſually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themſelves as a ſpecies of proprietors, took always care to renew their leaſes before they expired[n].

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of theſe violences; and men much queſtioned, whether priors and monks, who were only truſtees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to

[m] Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed.

[n] See note [I] at the end of the volume.

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the king the entire property of their eſtates. In order to reconcile the people to ſuch mighty innovations, they were told, that the king would never thenceforth have occaſion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government[o]. While ſuch topics were employed to appeaſe the populace, Henry took an effectual method of intereſting the nobility and gentry in the ſucceſs of his meaſures[p]: He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or ſold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very diſadvantageous terms. He was ſo profuſe in theſe liberalities, that he is ſaid to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding, which happened to gratify his palate[q]. He alſo ſettled penſions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly penſion of eight marks: He erected ſix new biſhoprics, Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborow, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter; of which five ſubſiſt at this day: And by all theſe means of expence and diſſipation, the profit, which the king reaped by the ſeizure of church lands, fell much ſhort of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreſeen ſome years before it happened, the monks had taken care to ſecrete moſt of their ſtock, furniture, and plate; ſo that the ſpoils of the great monaſteries bore not, in theſe reſpects, any proportion to thoſe of the leſſer.

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Beside the lands poſſeſſed by the monaſteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a conſiderable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes annexed to them; and theſe were alſo at this time tranſferred to the crown, and by that means paſſed into the hands of laymen: An abuſe

o Coke's 4th Inſt. fol. 44. p Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 800.
q Fuller.

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which many zealous churchmen regarded as the moſt criminal ſacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their eaſe in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and ſtated expence of the houſe. We read of the abbey of Chertſey in Surrey, which poſſeſſed 744 pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furneſe, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained about thirty[r]. In order to diſſipate their revenues, and ſupport popularity, the monks lived in a hoſpitable manner; and, beſides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who paſſed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely ſubſiſted at the tables of the friars. By this hoſpitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurſeries of idleneſs; but the king, not to give offence by too ſudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to ſupport the ancient hoſpitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very ſhort time.

It is eaſy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all theſe acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the eccleſiaſtics of that court, who had ſo long kept the world in ſubjection by high ſounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric againſt the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at laſt incited to publiſh the bull, which had been paſſed againſt that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his ſoul to the devil, and his dominions to the firſt invader. Libels were diſperſed, in which he was anew compared to the moſt furious perſecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their ſide: He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themſelves reſpected; was at open hoſtility

[r] Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

with heaven; and had engaged in profeſſed enmity with the whole hoſt of ſaints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his reſemblance to the emperor Julian, whom, it was ſaid, he imitated in his apoſtacy and learning, though he fell ſhort of him in morals. Henry could diſtinguiſh, in ſome of theſe libels, the ſtile and animoſity of his kinſman, Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage, by every poſſible expedient, on that famous cardinal. CHAP. XXXI. 1538.

Cardinal Pole.

REGINALD DE LA POLE, or Reginald Pole, was deſcended from the royal family, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius, and generous diſpoſition, by which, during his whole life, he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed; and Henry, having conceived great friendſhip for him, intended to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanry of Exeter[a], the better to ſupport him in his education. Pole was carrying on his ſtudies in the univerſity of Paris at the time when the king ſolicited the ſuffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but, though applied to by the Engliſh agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendſhip with a perſon whoſe virtues and talents, he hoped, would prove uſeful, as well as ornamental, to his court and kingdom. He allowed him ſtill to poſſeſs his deanry, and gave him permiſſion to finiſh his ſtudies at Padua: He even paid him ſome court, in order to bring him into his meaſures; and wrote to him, while in that univerſity, deſiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late meaſures taken in England for aboliſhing the papal authority. Pole had

[a] Goodwin's Annals.

now

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now contracted an intimate friendſhip with all perſons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy, Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taſte and learning; and he was moved by theſe connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget, in ſome reſpect, the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his ſovereign. He replied, by writing a treatiſe of *the unity of the church*, in which he inveighed againſt the king's ſupremacy, his divorce, his ſecond marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family, and to the catholic cauſe. Henry, though provoked beyond meaſure at this outrage, diſſembled his reſentment; and he ſent a meſſage to Pole, deſiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain paſſages in his book, which he found ſomewhat obſcure and difficult. Pole was on his guard againſt this inſidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was univerſally beloved.

THE pope and emperor thought themſelves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who, in ſupport of their cauſe, had ſacrificed all his pretenſions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took not higher orders than thoſe of a deacon, he was ſent legate into Flanders about the year 1536[t]. Henry was ſenſible, that Pole's chief intention in chuſing that employment was to foment the mutinous diſpoſition of the Engliſh catholics; and he therefore remonſtrated in ſo vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that ſhe diſmiſſed the legate, without allowing him to exerciſe his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther meaſures in his intrigues againſt Henry. He is even ſuſpected of having aſpired to the crown, by means

[t] Herbert.

of

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of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received, of the correſpondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conſpiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; Sir Nicholas Carew, maſter of horſe, and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. Theſe perſons were indicted, and tried, and convicted, before lord Audley, who preſided in the trial as high ſteward; They were all executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having firſt carried to the king ſecret intelligence of the conſpiracy. We know little concerning the juſtice or iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt theſe men: We only know, that the condemnation of a man who was at that time proſecuted by the court, forms no preſumption of his guilt; though, as no hiſtorian of credit mentions, in the preſent caſe, any complaint occaſioned by theſe trials, we may preſume that ſufficient evidence was produced againſt the marquis of Exeter and his aſſociates[u].

[u] Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

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Diſputation with Lambert——A parliament——Law of the ſix articles——Proclamations made equal to laws——Settlement of the ſucceſſion——King's projects of marriage——He marries Anne of Cleves——He diſlikes her——A parliament——Fall of Cromwel——His execution——King's divorce from Anne of Cleves——His marriage with Catherine Howard——State of affairs in Scotland——Diſcovery of the queen's diſſolute life——A parliament——Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

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THE rough hand of Henry ſeemed well adapted for rending aſunder thoſe bands by which the ancient ſuperſtition had faſtened itſelf on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's ſupremacy, and ſuppreſſing monaſteries, moſt of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would ſtop at thoſe innovations. The ſpirit of oppoſition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmoſt extremities againſt the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war againſt the whole doctrine and worſhip, as well as diſcipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was ſummoned to meet at Mantua, he previouſly renounced all ſubmiſſion to it, as ſummoned by the pope, and lying entirely under ſubjection to that ſpiritual uſurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpoſe; and he had preſcribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of

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of every opportunity to carry him on in this courſe; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her inſinuation and addreſs, been ſucceſsful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embaſſy to France, kept the king more in ſuſpence; and, by feigning an unlimited ſubmiſſion to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purpoſes. Fox, biſhop of Hereford, had ſupported Cranmer in his ſchemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto ſeemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to ſacrifice every thing to preſent intereſt, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner, and the partizans of the old religion. Gardiner himſelf, it was believed, had ſecretly entered into meaſures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and, in concert with theſe powers, he endeavoured to preſerve, as much as poſſible, the ancient faith and worſhip.

HENRY was ſo much governed by paſſion, that nothing could have retarded his animoſity and oppoſition againſt Rome, but ſome other paſſion which ſtopped his career, and raiſed him new objects of animoſity. Though he had gradually, ſince the commencement of his ſcruples with regard to his firſt marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological ſyſtem in which he had been educated, he was no leſs poſitive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unſhaken. And though he ſtood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had ſo enflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himſelf entitled to regulate, by his own particular ſtandard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly reſted his orthodoxy happened to be the real preſence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberleſs victories of ſuperſtition over common ſenſe, her triumph is the moſt

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most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle be held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing, he thought, would be more honourable for him, than, while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiff, to maintain, in this essential article, the purity of the catholic faith.

Disputation with Lambert.

THERE was one Lambert[w], a school-master in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate, and the change of counsels at court, he had been released. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were, in a certain mysterious manner, incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice, Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because, in their common departure from the ancient faith, he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprised,

[w] Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

when,

when, instead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king. CHAP. XXXII. 1538.

The king, not displeased with an opportunity where he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and resolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with the school-master: Scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: The prelates were placed on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left: The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops; the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: And in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist[x].

The bishop of Chichester opened the conference by saying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: That though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had abolished the idolatrous worship of images; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it: And that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors;

[x] Fox, vol. ii. p. 426.

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but if he ſtill continued obſtinate in them, he muſt expect the moſt condign puniſhment[y].

AFTER this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of Chriſt's corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his reply with ſome compliment to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with diſdain and indignation. He afterwards preſſed Lambert with arguments drawn from Scripture and the ſchoolmen: The audience applauded the force of his reaſoning, and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer ſeconded his proofs by ſome new topics: Gardiner entered the liſts as a ſupport to Cranmer: Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner: Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal: Six biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field after Stokeſley: And the diſputation, if it deſerves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abaſhed, was at laſt reduced to ſilence. The king, then returning to the charge, aſked him whether he were convinced? and he propoſed, as a concluding argument, this intereſting queſtion, Whether he were reſolved to live or to die? Lambert, who poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy, replied, that he caſt himſelf wholly on his Majeſty's clemency: The king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and, therefore, if that were his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwel, as vicegerent, pronounced the ſentence againſt him[z].

LAMBERT, whoſe vanity had probably incited him the more to perſevere on account of the greatneſs of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of the puniſhment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the ſufferings of a man who

y Goodwin's Annals. z See note [K] at the end of the volume.

had

had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: He was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired [a]. CHAP. XXIII. 1538.

Some few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's Cross, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the same sect and country were burned in Smithfield [b].

1539. It was the unhappy fate of the English, during this age, that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: On the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper, of themselves, to carry into execution. This abject servility never appeared more conspicuously than in a new parliament, which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion, ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion. A parliament. 28th April.

The chancellor opened the parliament by informing the house of lords, that it was his majesty's earnest desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion in matters of religion; and as this undertaking was, he

[a] Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 427. Burnet. [b] Stowe, p. 556.

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owned, important and arduous, he desired them to chuse a committee from among themselves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwel, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they had undertaken: This small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinion, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, that, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, intended to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the sense of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and, after a short prorogation, the bill of the *six articles*, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, received the royal assent.

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Law of the six articles.

In this law, the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article, with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An unheard-of severity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: An obstinate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of priests was subjected to the same punishment.

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ment. Their commerce with women was, on the firſt offence, forfeiture and impriſonment; on the ſecond, death. The abſtaining from confeſſion, and from receiving the euchariſt at the accuſtomed times, ſubjected the perſon to fine and to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure; and if the criminal perſevered after conviction, he was puniſhable by death and forfeiture, as in caſes of felony[c]. Commiſſioners were to be appointed by the king, for enquiring into theſe hereſies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

The king, in framing this law, laid his oppreſſive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reaſon to complain, that the friars and nuns, though diſmiſſed their convent, ſhould be capriciouſly reſtrained to the practice of celibacy[d]: But as the proteſtants were chiefly expoſed to the ſeverity of the ſtatute, the miſery of adverſaries, according to the uſual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion, as their own proſperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppoſe this bill in the houſe; and though the king deſired him to abſent himſelf, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance[e]. Henry was accuſtomed to Cranmer's freedom and ſincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unuſual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whiſper againſt him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the ſtatute, to diſmiſs his wife, the niece of Oſiander, a famous divine of Nuremberg[f]; and Henry, ſatisfied with this proof of ſubmiſſion, ſhowed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their biſhoprics on account of the law, and were committed to priſon.

[c] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Herbert in Kennet, p. 219. [d] See note [L.] at the end of the volume. [e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 249. 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037. [f] Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

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1539. Proclamations made equal to laws.

THE parliament, having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and without scruple or deliberation they made, by one act, a total subversion of the English constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law, as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations which froward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, *who may full ill bear it*; that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered, by his authority, derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: For these reasons, the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations, enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he should think proper: And these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws[s].

WHAT proves either a stupid or a wilful blindness in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inherit-

[s] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

ances,

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ances, privileges, franchises; not yet infringe any common law, or laudable custom of the realm. They did not consider, that no penalty could be inflicted on the disobeying of proclamations, without invading some liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws, joined to the dispensing power, then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority. It is true, the kings of England had always been accustomed, from their own authority, to issue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a strong symptom of absolute government: But still there was a difference between a power which was exercised on a particular emergence, and which must be justified by the present expedience or necessity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of controul or limitation.

Could any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed an act of attainder, not only against the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Hussey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred, which Henry bore to cardinal Pole, had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countess of Salisbury, had, on that account, become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from reading the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which, it is said, had been seen at Coudray, her country seat; and of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: But Henry found, either that these offences could not be proved,

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1539. or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishments as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical manner; and, for that purpose, he sent Cromwel, who was but too obsequious to his will, to ask the judges whether the parliament could attaint a person who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them[h]? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice: No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, that, if a person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in question, but must remain good in law. Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwel showed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house[i]. No other proof seems to have been produced, in order to ascertain her guilt: The parliament, without farther enquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: The marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess received a reprieve.

[h] Coke's 4th Inst. p. 37, 38. [i] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 652.

THE

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THE only beneficial act, passed this session, was that by which the parliament confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to surrender their monasteries had been conducted, as may easily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances: Arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive, that could work on the frailty of human nature, had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to make a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself[k]. Three abbots had shown more constancy than the rest, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastenbury; and, in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited[l]. Besides, though none of these violences had taken place, the king knew, that a surrender made by men, who were only tenants for life, would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament asserts, that all the surrenders made by the abbots had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and "according to due course of common law." And in consequence, the two houses confirm the surrenders, and secure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever[m]. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers;

[k] Collier, vol. ii. p. 158. & seq.
[l] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.
[m] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

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and that none of them made any proteſts againſt this injurious ſtatute.

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In this ſeſſion, the rank of all the great officers of ſtate was fixed: Cromwel, as vicegerent, had the precedency aſſigned him above all of them. It was thought ſingular, that a blackſmith's ſon, for he was no other, ſhould have place next the royal family; and that a man, poſſeſſed of no manner of literature, ſhould be ſet at the head of the church.

As ſoon as the act of the ſix articles had paſſed, the catholics were extremely vigilant in informing againſt offenders; and no leſs than five hundred perſons were in a little time thrown into priſon. But Cromwel, who had not had intereſt to prevent that act, was able, for the preſent, to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonſtrated againſt the cruelty of puniſhing ſo many delinquents; and he obtained permiſſion to ſet them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No ſooner had Henry paſſed this law, which ſeemed to inflict ſo deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permiſſion for every one to have the new tranſlation of the Bible in his family: A conceſſion regarded by that party as an important victory.

Henry's projects of marriage.

But as Henry was obſerved to be much governed by his wives, while he retained his fondneſs for them, the final prevalence of either party ſeemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the moſt beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He firſt caſt his eye towards the dutcheſs-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made propoſals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties, he was carried,

by

by his friendſhip for Francis, rather to think of a French princeſs. He demanded the dutcheſs-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guiſe, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine; but Francis told him, that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refuſal: He had ſet his heart extremely on the match: The information which he had received of the dutcheſs's accompliſhments and beauty, had prepoſſeſſed him in her favour; and having privately ſent over Meautys to examine her perſon, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him ſerved farther to inflame his deſires. He learned that ſhe was big made; and he thought her, on that account, the more proper match for him, who was now become ſomewhat corpulent. The pleaſure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his proſecution of this match; and he inſiſted that Francis ſhould give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though ſenſible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his intereſts, would not affront his friend and ally; and, to prevent farther ſolicitation, he immediately ſent the princeſs to Scotland. Not to ſhock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princeſs, he would not hear any farther of ſuch a propoſal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger ſiſters of the queen of Scots; and he aſſured him that they were nowiſe inferior, either in merit or ſize, to their elder ſiſter, and that one of them was even ſuperior in beauty. The king was as ſcrupulous with regard to the perſon of his wives, as if his heart had been really ſuſceptible of a delicate paſſion; and he was unwilling to truſt any relations, or even pictures,

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tures, with regard to this important particular. He proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais, on pretence of business; and that this monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal: He was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex, to carry ladies of the first quality, like geldings, to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser[n]. Henry would hearken to none of these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which, however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

The king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely disgusted with the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew a connection which he regarded as so advantageous to him. Cromwel joyfully seconded this intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and, after some negociation, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was at last concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got a sight of her. He found her big, indeed and tall, as he could wish; but utterly destitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and represent-

He marries Anne of Cleves.

[n] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

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ations which he had received: He ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders mare; and declared that he never could poſſibly bear her any affection. The matter was worſe, when he found that ſhe could ſpeak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to Lord Ruſſel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This laſt gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private perſons, chuſe for themſelves; but muſt receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

Diſlikes her.

It was the ſubject of debate among the king's counſellors, whether the marriage could not yet be diſſolved, and the princeſs be ſent back to her own country. Henry's ſituation ſeemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good underſtanding was thought to have taken place between theſe rival monarchs; and ſuch marks of union appeared, as gave great jealouſy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare, to that degree, among great princes. An inſurrection had been raiſed in the Low-Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and ſeemed to threaten the moſt dangerous conſequences. Charles, who reſided at that time in Spain, reſolved to go in perſon to Flanders, in order to appeaſe thoſe diſorders; but he found great difficulties in chuſing the manner of his paſſing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the channel dangerous, by reaſon of the Engliſh naval power: He aſked Francis's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions; and he entruſted himſelf into the hands of

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1539.

of a rival whom he had ſo mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courteſy; and though prompted both by revenge and intereſt, as well as by the advice of his miſtreſs and favourites, to make advantage of the preſent opportunity, he conducted the emperor ſafely out of his dominions; and would not ſo much as ſpeak to him of buſineſs during his abode in France, leſt his demands ſhould bear the air of violence upon his royal gueſt.

HENRY, who was informed of all theſe particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between theſe princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England *. An alliance with the German princes ſeemed now, more than ever, requiſite for his intereſt and ſafety; and he knew, that if he ſent back the princeſs of Cleves, ſuch an affront would be highly reſented by her friends and family. He was therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding his averſion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that, ſince matters had gone ſo far, he muſt put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who knew how much his own intereſts were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his ſpouſe any better. The king told him, that he hated her worſe than ever; and that her perſon was more diſguſting on a near approach: He was reſolved never to meddle with her; and even ſuſpected her not to be a true maid: A point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even ſeemed to repoſe his uſual confidence in Cromwel; but though he exerted this command over himſelf, a diſcontent lay lurking in his breaſt, and was ready to burſt out on the firſt opportunity.

1540. 6 January.

* Stowe, p. 579.

A SESSION

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1540. 12 April. A parliament.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the houſe of peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diverſity of religions which ſtill prevailed among his ſubjects: A grievance, he affirmed, which ought the leſs to be endured, becauſe the Scriptures were now publiſhed in Engliſh, and ought univerſally to be the ſtandard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he ſaid, ſome biſhops and divines to draw up a liſt of tenets, to which his people were to aſſent; and he was determined that Chriſt, the doctrine of Chriſt, and the truth, ſhould have the victory. The king ſeems to have expected more effect in aſcertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had enſued from the publication of the Scriptures. Cromwel, as vicar-general, made alſo, in the king's name, a ſpeech to the upper houſe; and the peers, in return, beſtowed great flattery on him, and, in particular, ſaid that he was worthy, by his deſert, to be vicar-general of the univerſe. That miniſter ſeemed to be no leſs in his maſter's good graces: He received, ſoon after the ſitting of the parliament, the title of Earl of Eſſex, and was inſtalled Knight of the Garter.

THERE remained only one religious order in England; the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly eccleſiaſtical, partly military, had, by their valour, done great ſervice to Chriſtendom; and had very much retarded, at Jeruſalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progreſs of the barbarians. During the general ſurrender of the religious houſes in England, they had exerted their ſpirit, and had obſtinately refuſed to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no ſociety that profeſſed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourſe to parliament for the diſſolution of this order.

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Their revenues were large, and formed an addition nowise contemptible to the many acquisitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the church: His profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprised this session to find a demand made upon them of four-tenths, and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: So ill were the public expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow-subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty so small a grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was the great expence which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the danger of an invasion.

The king's favour to Cromwel, and his acquiescence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: His aversion to the queen secretly encreased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwel was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices

Fall of Cromwel.

offices of the crown: Beſides enjoying that commiſſion, which gave him a high, and almoſt abſolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy ſeal, chamberlain, and maſter of the wards: He had alſo obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illuſtrious families, and which ſeemed to be profaned by its being communicated to ſo mean a perſon. The people were averſe to him, as the ſuppoſed author of the violence on the monaſteries; eſtabliſhments which were ſtill revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: The proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands ariſen againſt the adminiſtration, was not diſpleaſed to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped, by making ſo eaſy a ſacrifice, to regain the affections of his ſubjects. CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

But there was another cauſe which ſuddenly ſet all theſe motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the miniſtry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new paſſion, he could find no expedient but, by procuring a divorce from his preſent conſort, to raiſe Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the ſame uſe of her inſinuations to ruin this miniſter, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's againſt Wolſey: And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commiſſion from the king to arreſt Cromwel at the council-table, on an accuſation of high treaſon, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately

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mediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man, whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwel was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous [p]. The only circumstance of his conduct, by which he seems to have merited this fate, was his being the instrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous bills, in the preceding session, against the countess of Salisbury and others.

CROMWEL endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but all to no purpose: It was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner once wrote to him in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwel's letter ran in these words: "I, a most woe-"ful prisoner, am ready to submit to death when it shall "please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh "incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon "of mine offences. Written at the Tower with the "heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's "most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Crom-"wel." And a little below, "Most gracious prince, "I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy [q]." When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry

28th July. His execution.

[p] Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

[q] Burnet, vol. i. p 281, 282.

would

would resent on his son those symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations, which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgotten his person, as well as the service which he had rendered him. Cromwel, in his grandeur, happened, at London, to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty, by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and by his grateful assistance, reinstated him in his former prosperity and opulence[r]. CHAP. XXXII. 1540.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwel. The house of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by consent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that, when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with King's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

[r] Burnet, vol. i. p. 172.

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these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: The parliament ratified the decision of the clergy[s]; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess.

Anne was blest with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce[t]. She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead), that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return to her own country after the affront which she had received; and she lived and died in England.

Notwithstanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy, which had taken place between Francis and Charles, had subsisted during a very short time: The dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make in confidence some dangerous discoveries to that interested monarch; and having now lost all suspicion of his rival,

[s] See note [M] at the end of the volume.

[t] Herbert, p. 458, 459.

he

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he hoped that the emperor and he, ſupporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his gueſt the ſtate of his negociations with Sultan Solyman and the Venetians; he alſo laid open the ſolicitations, which he had received from the court of England, to enter into a confederacy againſt him[u]. Charles had no ſooner reached his own dominions, than he ſhewed himſelf unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He abſolutely refuſed to fulfil his promiſe, and put the duke of Orleans in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe: He informed Solyman, and the ſenate of Venice, of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry ſhould not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend to whom he owed ſuch important obligations, and had ſacrificed him to a new confederate: He even poiſoned and miſrepreſented many things, which the unſuſpecting heart of the French monarch had diſcloſed to him. Had Henry poſſeſſed true judgment and generoſity, this incident alone had been ſufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendſhip of Francis, who had ſo unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor: And as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and thinking himſelf ſecure in this alliance, he neglected the friendſhip both of France and of the German princes.

THE new turn, which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs, was extremely agreeable to his catholic ſubjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reaſons, to the ruin of Cromwel, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagoniſt. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed ſoon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was

8th Aug. His marriage with Catherine Howard.

[u] Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

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also regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the subsequent events corresponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill, which passed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said, that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying request, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch, who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his request was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing[w].

While Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged[x]. The king even displayed, in an ostentatious manner, this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was also executed for his religion. These catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who declared, that the most

[w] Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox.

[x] Fox, vol. ii. p. 529.

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grievous part of their punishment was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as suffered with them [y].

1542.

THOUGH the spirit of the English seemed to be totally sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared some symptoms of discontent: An inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Nevil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king was instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death, suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution; and this venerable matron maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the spirit of that long race of monarchs from whom she was descended [z]. She refused to lay her head on the block, or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial. She told the executioner, that, if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: And thus, shaking her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitless blows at her neck, before he was able to give the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but still greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the space of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown, was also beheaded for treason, soon after the countess of Salisbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his prosecution.

27th May.

THE insurrection in the North engaged Henry to make a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish the ancient superstitions, to which those parts were much addicted.

[y] Saunders, de Schism. Angl.

[z] Herbert, p. 468.

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addicted. He had alſo another motive for this journey: He purpoſed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if poſſible, to cement a cloſe and indiſſoluble union with that kingdom.

State of affairs in Scotland.

THE ſame ſpirit of religious innovation, which had ſeized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the ſame jealouſies, fears, and perſecutions. About the year 1527, Patric Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was ſent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with ſome reformers, and he returned into his own country very ill-diſpoſed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the higheſt dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impoſſible for him to conceal his ſentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendſhip and a ſympathy in opinion, had inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, accuſed him before Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain, with ſome of the clergy, a diſpute concerning the controverted points; and after much reaſoning with regard to juſtification, free-will, original ſin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the inſinuations of ambition, was leſs likely to be ſhaken with the fears of death; while he propoſed to himſelf, both the glory of bearing teſtimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compaſſionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the conſtancy of his end; and an incident, which ſoon followed, ſtill more confirmed them in their favourable ſentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who ſtill inſulted him at the ſtake, to anſwer

before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt; and as that perſecutor, either aſtoniſhed with theſe events, or overcome with remorſe, or, perhaps, ſeized caſually with a diſtemper, ſoon after loſt his ſenſes, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet, as well as a martyr[a]. CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

Among the diſciples converted by Hamilton, was one friar Forreſt, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly diſcover his ſentiments, was ſuſpected to lean towards the new opinions. His dioceſan, the biſhop of Dunkel, enjoined him, when he met with a good epiſtle or good goſpel, which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the reſt alone. Forreſt replied, that he had read both Old and New Teſtament, and had not found an ill epiſtle, or ill goſpel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the Scriptures was regarded in thoſe days as a ſure characteriſtic of hereſy; and Forreſt was ſoon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the prieſts were deliberating on the place of his execution, a byſtander adviſed them to burn him in a cellar: For that the ſmoke of Mr. Patric Hamilton had infected all thoſe on whom it blew[b].

The clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total ſubverſion of ancient eſtabliſhments, which they repreſented as idolatrous, impious, deteſtable; the prieſts, who found both their honours and properties at ſtake, thought that they had a right to reſiſt, by every expedient, theſe dangerous invaders, and that the ſame ſimple principles of equity, which juſtified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of ſuch heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to eccleſiaſtics, might, they ſaid,

[a] Spotſwood's Hiſt. church of Scotland, p. 62. [b] Spotſwood, p. 65.

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be admitted in other caſes; but ſeemed an abſurdity, where fundamentals were ſhaken, and where the poſſeſſions, and even the exiſtence of the eſtabliſhed clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of perſecution, they found the ſucceſs of this remedy very precarious, and obſerved, that the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by puniſhment, was apt to prove contagious on the compaſſionate minds of the ſpectators. The new doctrine, amidſt all the dangers to which is was expoſed, ſecretly ſpread itſelf every where; and the minds of men were gradually diſpoſed to a revolution in religion.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had caſt a wiſhful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themſelves by the plunder of the eccleſiaſtics. James himſelf, who was very poor, and was ſomewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been ſwayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the ſame fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry alſo never ceaſed exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making proſelytes, and the proſpect of ſecurity, ſhould Scotland embrace a cloſe union with him, he ſolicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promiſe to that purpoſe.

The eccleſiaſtics were alarmed at this reſolution of James, and they employed every expedient, in order to prevent the execution of it. They repreſented the danger of innovation; the pernicious conſequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh, his hereditary enemies; the dependence on them which muſt enſue upon his loſing the friendſhip of France, and of all foreign

foreign powers. To theſe conſiderations they added the proſpect of immediate intereſt, by which they found the king to be much governed: They offered him a preſent gratuity of fifty thouſand pounds: They promiſed him that the church ſhould always be ready to contribute to his ſupply: And they pointed out to him the confiſcation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thouſand pounds a-year to the crown revenues[c]. The inſinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and addreſs had given a powerful influence over him, ſeconded all theſe reaſons; and James was at laſt engaged, firſt to delay his journey, then to ſend excuſes to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be preſent at the interview[d]. 1542.

HENRY, vexed with the diſappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance againſt his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at ſea, and incurſions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received, ſoon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more ſenſible, and which touched him in a point where he always ſhewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage: The agreeable perſon and diſpoſition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no ſecret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned ſolemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal ſtate afforded him; and he directed the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of prayer for that purpoſe. But the queen's

[c] Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitſcotie, ibid. Knox.

[d] Henry had ſent ſome books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as ſoon as he ſaw, by the titles, that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the preſence of the perſon who brought them: Adding, it was better he ſhould deſtroy them, than they him. See Epiſt. Reginald. Pole. pars 2. p. 172.

conduct

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1541.

Discovery of the queen's dissolute life.

conduct very little merited this tenderness: One Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his sister, formerly a servant in the family of the old dutchess of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants to the dutchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford, and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that at first he gave no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to Lord Russel, high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesley, that he regarded the whole as a falsehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy, prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: The privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman at that time resided: He found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arrested at the same time,

and

and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confeſſion; and diſcovered other particulars, which redounded ſtill more to her diſhonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets, and ſome of them had even paſſed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was ſo deeply affected, that he remained a long time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. He found, to his ſurpriſe, that his great ſkill in diſtinguiſhing a true maid, of which he boaſted in the caſe of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his preſent conſort. The queen, being next queſtioned, denied her guilt; but, when informed that a full diſcovery was made, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been criminal before marriage; and only inſiſted that ſhe had never been falſe to the king's bed. But, as there was evidence that one Colepepper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage; and as it appeared that ſhe had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her ſervice, ſhe ſeemed to deſerve little credit in this aſſeveration; and the king, beſides, was not of a humour to make any difference between theſe degrees of guilt. CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

HENRY found that he could not, by any means, ſo fully or expeditiouſly ſatiate his vengeance on all theſe criminals, as by aſſembling a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny. The two houſes, having received the queen's confeſſion, made an addreſs to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were ſubject; but to conſider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from theſe views to derive a ſubject of conſolation. They deſired leave to paſs a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which 1542. 6th Jan.

CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And as there was a law in force, making it treaſon to ſpeak ill of the queen, as well as of the king, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them ſhould, on the preſent occaſion, have tranſgreſſed any part of the ſtatute.

HAVING obtained a gracious anſwer to theſe requeſts, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treaſon againſt the queen, and the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this bill, Colepepper and Derham were alſo comprehended. At the ſame time, they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old dutcheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine perſons more; becauſe they knew the queen's vicious courſe of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's uſual extravagance, to expect that parents ſhould ſo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the ſentiments of ſhame and decency, as to reveal to him the moſt ſecret diſorders of their family. He himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of the cruelty of this proceeding: For he pardoned the dutcheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others, condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon.

HOWEVER, to ſecure himſelf for the future, as well as his ſucceſſors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to paſs a law ſomewhat extraordinary. It was enacted, that any one who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, might, within twenty days, diſcloſe it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law, againſt defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one, at the ſame time, from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others: It was alſo enacted, that if the king

king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, if ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this ſingular clauſe, and ſaid, that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute[e]. After all theſe laws were paſſed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner ſuitable to their diſſolute life; and as lady Rocheford was known to be the chief inſtrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, ſhe died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the diſcovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable ſentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen. CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

THE king made no demand of any ſubſidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: He took farther ſteps towards the diſſolution of colleges, hoſpitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practiſing on the preſidents and governors, to make a ſurrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been ſucceſsful with eight of them. But there was an obſtacle to their farther progreſs: It had been provided, by the local ſtatutes of moſt of theſe foundations, that no preſident, or any number of fellows, could conſent to ſuch a deed, without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not eaſily obtained. All ſuch ſtatutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of theſe houſes were now expoſed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites[f]. The church had been ſo long their prey, that nobody was ſurpriſed at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devaſtations on the ſecular clergy. He extorted from many of the

[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 314. [f] See note [N] at the end of the volume.

biſhops

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biſhops a ſurrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the ſees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy paraſites and flatterers with their ſpoils.

Eccleſiaſtic affairs.

THE clergy have been commonly ſo fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal intereſts go hand in hand with a jealouſy for orthodoxy; and both theſe paſſions be regarded by the people, ignorant and ſuperſtitious, as proofs of zeal for religion: But the violent and headſtrong character of Henry now disjoined theſe objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by perſecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the ſix articles, ſo far as regards the marriage of prieſts, which was now only ſubjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life; he was ſtill equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in ſpeculative principles. He had appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of the two archbiſhops and ſeveral biſhops of both provinces, together with a conſiderable number of doctors of divinity; and, by virtue of his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, he had given them in charge to chuſe a religion for his people. Before the commiſſioners had made any progreſs in this arduous undertaking, the parliament, in 1541, had paſſed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which theſe divines ſhould thereafter eſtabliſh with the king's conſent: And they were not aſhamed of thus expreſsly declaring, that they took their religion upon truſt, and had no other rule, in ſpiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their maſter. There is only one clauſe of the ſtatute which may ſeem, at firſt ſight, to favour ſomewhat of the ſpirit of liberty: It was enacted, that the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners ſhould eſtabliſh nothing repugnant to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm. But, in reality, this proviſo was inſerted by the king,

king, to ſerve his own purpoſes. By introducing a confuſion and contradiction into the laws, he became more maſter of every one's life and property. And, as the ancient independence of the church ſtill gave him jealouſy, he was well pleaſed, under cover of ſuch a clauſe, to introduce appeals from the ſpiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reaſon, that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occaſions to interpoſe in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation; though at firſt invented for arbitrary purpoſes! CHAP. XXXII. 1542.

THE king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that ſpiritual ſupremacy, which he believed inherent in him, employed his commiſſioners to ſelect a ſyſtem of tenets for the aſſent and belief of the nation. A ſmall volume was ſoon after publiſhed, called the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the ſtandard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of juſtification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: The ſacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now encreaſed to the number of ſeven, conformably to the ſentiments of the catholics. The king's caprice is diſcernible throughout the whole; and the book is, in reality, to be regarded as his compoſition. For Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himſelf had formerly eſtabliſhed.

THE people had occaſion, ſoon after, to ſee a farther inſtance of the king's inconſtancy. He was not long ſatisfied with his Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man: He ordered a new book to be compoſed, called the *Erudition*

of

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of a Chriſtian Man; and, without aſking the aſſent of the convocation, he publiſhed, by his own authority, and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Inſtitution[g]; but the king was no leſs poſitive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his ſignal. In both theſe compoſitions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was ſpreading his own books among the people, he ſeems to have been extremely perplexed, as were alſo the clergy, what courſe to take with the Scriptures. A review had been made, by the ſynod, of the new tranſlation of the Bible; and Gardiner had propoſed, that, inſtead of employing Engliſh expreſſions throughout, ſeveral Latin words ſhould ſtill be preſerved; becauſe they contained, as he pretended, ſuch peculiar energy and ſignificance, that they had no correſpondent terms in the vulgar tongue[h]. Among theſe were *eccleſia, pœnitentia, pontifex, contritus, holocauſta, ſacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, myſterium, preſbyter, ſacrificium, humilitas, ſatisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hoſtia, charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpoſe than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the propoſal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at leaſt their diſputative turn, ſeemed to be an inconvenience ſtill more dangerous; and the king and parliament[i], ſoon after the publication of the ſcriptures, retracted the conceſſion which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from peruſing them[k]. Even that liberty was not granted, without an apparent

[g] Collier, vol. ii. p. 190. [h] Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

[i] Which met on the 22d of January, 1543.

[k] 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The reading of the Bible, however, could not, at

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1542.

apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences: These persons were allowed to read, *so it be done quietly and with good order*. And the preamble to the act sets forth, "that many seditious and ignorant persons had "abused the liberty granted them of reading the Bible, "and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tu- "mults, and schisms had been occasioned by perverting "the sense of the Scriptures." It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity, with the permission of free enquiry.

The mass-book also passed under the king's revisal; and little alteration was as yet made in it: Some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erazed. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was sold. The word, Pope, was carefully omitted or blotted out[l]; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

The king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuse which had creeped into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worship was thereby gradually effaced[m]. We do not hear that the catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this powerful engine against their adversaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit, by which, it appears, the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on

at that time, have much effect in England, where so few persons had learned to read. There were but 500 copies printed of this first authorised edition of the Bible; a book of which there are now several millions of copies in the kingdom.

[l] Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 213. [m] Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

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that ſide: Perhaps the greater ſimplicity and the more ſpiritual abſtract worſhip of the Proteſtants, gave leſs hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on ſenſible repreſentations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable conceſſion, which the king made to the catholic party, to ſuppreſs entirely theſe religious comedies.

THUS Henry laboured inceſſantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal ſtatutes, to bring his ſubjects to an uniformity in their religious ſentiments: But as he entered, himſelf, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, into all thoſe ſcholaſtic diſputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however preſent fear might reſtrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any ſet of tenets or opinions preſcribed to them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

War with Scotland—Victory at Solway—Death of James V.—Treaty with Scotland—New rupture—Rupture with France—A Parliament—Affairs of Scotland—A Parliament—Campaign in France—A Parliament—Peace with France and Scotland—Perſecutions—Execution of the earl of Surrey—Attainder of the duke of Norfolk—Death of the king—His character—Miſcellaneous tranſactions.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1542. War with Scotland.

HENRY, being determined to avenge himſelf on the king of Scots, for ſlighting the advances which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a ſupply from parliament, in order to proſecute that enterprize; but as he did not think it prudent to diſcover his intentions, that aſſembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would underſtand no hints; and the king was diſappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and as ſoon as he thought himſelf in a condition to invade Scotland, he publiſhed a manifeſto, by which he endeavoured to juſtify hoſtilities. He complained of James's breach of word, in declining the promiſed interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel[n]: But in order to give a more ſpecious colouring to the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to ſome Engliſh rebels and fugitives, and had detained ſome territory, which, Henry pretended, belonged to England.

[n] Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the Fifth.

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1542. He even revived the old claim to the vaſſalage of Scotland, and he ſummoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and ſuperior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the ſcourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James ſent the biſhop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont of Darſay, to appeaſe his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was aſſembling his army at Newcaſtle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incurſion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and deſtroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas, his brother, who had been many years baniſhed their country, and had ſubſiſted by Henry's bounty, joined the Engliſh army in this incurſion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thouſand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had poſted a conſiderable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vaſſals, was haſtening to join Huntley, when he met with the Engliſh army; and an
24th Aug. action immediately enſued. During the engagement, the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the Engliſh, afraid of being ſurrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners. A few only of ſmall note fell in the ſkirmiſh[o].

THE duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcaſtle; and being attended by the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thouſand men; and it required the utmoſt efforts

[o] Buchanan, lib. 14.

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of Scotland to reſiſt ſuch a formidable armament. James had aſſembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as ſoon as he ſhould be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The Engliſh paſſed the Tweed at Berwic, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo; but hearing that James had collected near thirty thouſand men, they repaſſed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country[p]. The king of Scots, inflamed with a deſire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was ſurprized to find, that his nobility, who were in general diſaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, oppoſed this reſolution, and refuſed to attend him in his projected enterprize. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but ſtill reſolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemy. He ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſguſted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles, he ſent a meſſage to the army, depriving lord Maxwel, their general, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely diſguſted with this alteration, and was ready to diſband; when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great many were taken priſoners, and ſome of the principal nobility: Among theſe, the

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24th Nov. Victory at Solway.

[p] Buchanan, lib. 14.

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earls of Caſſilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all ſent to London, and given in cuſtody to different noblemen.

THE king of Scots, hearing of this diſaſter, was aſtoniſhed; and being naturally of a melancholic diſpoſition, as well as endowed with a high ſpirit, he loſt all command of his temper on this diſmal occaſion. Rage againſt his nobility, who, he believed, had betrayed him; ſhame for a defeat by ſuch unequal numbers; regret for the paſt, fear of the future; all theſe paſſions ſo wrought upon him, that he would admit of no conſolation, but abandoned himſelf wholly to deſpair. His body was waſted by ſympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no iſſue living; and hearing that his queen was ſafely delivered, he aſked whether ſhe had brought him a male or female child? Being told the latter; he turned himſelf in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," ſaid he, "and it will go with one: Many miſeries await this "poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by "force of arms or by marriage." A few days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of conſiderable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and perſonal courage, for repreſſing thoſe diſorders, to which his kingdom, during that age, was ſo much expoſed. He executed juſtice with impartiality and rigour; but as he ſupported the commonalty and the church againſt the rapine of the nobility, he eſcaped not the hatred of that order. The proteſtants alſo, whom he oppoſed, have endeavoured to throw many ſtains on his memory; but have not been able to fix any conſiderable imputation upon him[q].

14th Dec. Death of James the 5th.

[q] See note [O] at the end of the volume.

HENRY

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HENRY was no ſooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreſeen, the ſcheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon, Edward, to the heireſs of that kingdom[r]. He called together the Scottiſh nobles, who were his priſoners; and after reproaching them in ſevere terms, for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to ſoften his tone, and propoſed to them this expedient, by which, he hoped, thoſe diſorders, ſo prejudicial to both ſtates, would, for the future, be prevented. He offered to beſtow on them their liberty without ranſom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young miſtreſs. They were eaſily prevailed on to give their aſſent to a propoſal, which ſeemed ſo natural and ſo advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcaſtle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hoſtages for their return, in caſe the intended nuptials were not completed: And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in ſome confuſion.

THE pope, obſerving his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the ſpreading of the new opinions, had beſtowed on Beaton, the primate, the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime miniſter to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the eccleſiaſtics. Upon the death of his maſter, this man, apprehenſive of the conſequences, both to his party and to himſelf, endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion of power; and for that purpoſe, he is accuſed of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is ſaid, a will for the king, appointing himſelf, and three noblemen more, regents of

[r] Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan.

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the kingdom during the minority of the infant princeſs[s]: At leaſt, for hiſtorians are not well agreed in the circumſtances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect aſſent and approbation[t]. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government; and having united his intereſts with thoſe of the queen-dowager, he obtained the conſent of the convention of ſtates, and excluded the pretenſions of the earl of Arran.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III.; and, on that account, ſeemed beſt entitled to poſſeſs that high office into which the cardinal had intruded himſelf. The proſpect alſo of his ſucceſſion after a princeſs, who was in ſuch tender infancy, procured him many partizans; and, though his character indicated little ſpirit, activity, or ambition, a propenſity which he had diſcovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of thoſe innovations. By means of theſe adherents, joined to the vaſſals of his own family, he had been able to make oppoſition to the cardinal's adminiſtration; and the ſuſpicion of Beaton's forgery, with the acceſſion of the noblemen who had been priſoners in England, aſſiſted too by ſome money ſent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the preſent opportunity of returning into their native country, oppoſed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced oppoſite intereſts to thoſe which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was commit-

[s] Sadler's Letters, p. 162. Spotſwood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15.
[t] John Knox, Hiſtory of the Reformation.

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Treaty with Scotland.

ted to cuſtody under the care of lord Seton; and a negociation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen ſhould remain in Scotland till ſhe ſhould be ten years of age; that ſhe ſhould then be ſent to England to be educated; that ſix Scottiſh noblemen ſhould immediately be delivered as hoſtages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithſtanding its union with England, ſhould ſtill retain its laws and privileges [v]. By means of theſe equitable conditions, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with ſuch diſmal calamities, ſeemed to be fully compoſed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seton to reſtore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all theſe meaſures, which appeared ſo well concerted. He aſſembled the moſt conſiderable eccleſiaſtics; and, having repreſented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were expoſed, he perſuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large ſum of money, by which, if entruſted to his management, he engaged to overturn the ſchemes of their enemies [w]. Beſides the partizans whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he rouzed up the zeal of thoſe who were attached to the catholic worſhip; and he repreſented the union with England as the ſure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their ſouthern neighbours, was alſo an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and, though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make reſiſtance, had procured a temporary aſſent to the alliance and marriage propoſed, the ſettled habits of the nation produced an extreme aver-

[v] Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters. [w] Buchanan, lib. 15.

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sion to those measures. The English ambassador and his retinue received many insults from persons whom the cardinal had instigated to commit those violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: But Sadler prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impression, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise, which they had given, of returning into custody. None of them showed so much sentiment of honour, as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers whom he had left as hostages [x].

New rupture.

THIS behaviour of the Scottish nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not disagreeable to the cardinal, who foresaw, that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that ancient ally, during the present distresses of the Scottish nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resent-

[x] Buchanan, lib. 15.

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ment againſt Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made great, though fruitleſs efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more diſabled at preſent from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any ſuccour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, ſent him over to his native country, as a ſupport to the cardinal and the queen-mother: And he promiſed that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould ſoon be diſpatched after him. Arran, the governor, ſeeing all theſe preparations againſt him, aſſembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the perſon of the infant queen into his cuſtody; but being repulſed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to entruſt that precious charge to four neutral perſons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areſkines, Lindſeys, and Levingſtones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, ſerved to render the victory of the French party over the Engliſh ſtill more indiſputable[y].

Rupture with France.

THE oppoſition, which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues, excited his reſentment, and farther confirmed the reſolution, which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with thoſe of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint againſt the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet being recent, were able to overbalance thoſe great injuries which he had formerly received from Charles. He pretended, that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in ſeparating himſelf en-

[y] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

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[z] Pere Daniel. [a] Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv. p. 2.

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for all the prejudice which Chriſtendom had ſuſtained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refuſal, war was declared againſt him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partizans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no leſs obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: And they obſerved, that this league was a breach of the ſolemn promiſe which he had given to Clement VII. never to make peace or alliance with England.

22d Jan. A parliament.

WHILE the treaty with the emperor was negociating, the king ſummoned a new ſeſſion of parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a ſubſidy, to be paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three ſhillings in the pound, upon any individual [b]. The convocation gave the king ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater ſums were always, even during the eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity: Which made the emperor Charles ſay, when Henry diſſolved the monaſteries, and ſold their revenues, or beſtowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs [c].

THE parliament alſo facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to ſtatutes: They appointed that any nine counſellors ſhould form a legal court for puniſhing all diſobe-

[b] They who were worth in goods twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, ſixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two ſhillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty ſhillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, ſixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two ſhillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three ſhillings.

[c] Collier, vol. ii. p. 176.

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dience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal cauſes, as well as of all parliaments, ſeemed, if the king had ſo pleaſed, the neceſſary conſequence of this enormous law. He might iſſue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal ſtatute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the ſtatute, but for diſobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that lord Mountjoy entered a proteſt againſt this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that proteſt is the only one entered againſt any public bill during this whole reign [d].

It was enacted [e] this ſeſſion, that any ſpiritual perſon who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the *Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he ſhould *thereafter* promulgate, was to be admitted on the firſt conviction to renounce his error; on the ſecond, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refuſed to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual impriſonment. Indictments muſt be laid within a year after the offence, and the priſoner was allowed to bring witneſſes for his exculpation. Theſe penalties were lighter than thoſe which were formerly impoſed on a denial of the real preſence: It was, however, ſubjoined in this ſtatute, that the act of the ſix articles was ſtill in force. But, in order to make the king more entirely maſter of his people, it was enacted, that he might hereafter, at his pleaſure, change this act, or any proviſion in it. By this clauſe, both parties were retained in ſubjection: So far as regarded religion, the king was inveſted, in the fulleſt manner, with the ſole legiſlative authority in his kingdom: And all his ſubjects were, under the ſevereſt pe-

[d] Burnet, p. 322.

[e] 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

5 nalties,

nalties, expreſsly bound to receive implicitly whatever doctrine he ſhould pleaſe to recommend to them. CHAP. XXXIII.

1543. 12th July.

The reformers began to entertain hopes that this great power of the crown might ſtill be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and ſomewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jeſt, that he would be obliged to eſpouſe a widow. The king's league with the emperor ſeemed a circumſtance no leſs favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained ſtill nearly balanced between the factions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconſiderable, during the preſent year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor[f]: Francis, in perſon, took the field early; and made himſelf maſter, without reſiſtance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg: He afterwards took Landrecy, and added ſome fortifications to it. Charles, having at laſt aſſembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low-Countries; and, after taking almoſt every fortreſs in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleaſed to preſcribe to him. Being then joined by a body of ſix thouſand Engliſh, he ſat down before Landrecy, and covered the ſiege with an army of above forty thouſand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raiſe the ſiege: But while theſe two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of ſome great event, the French king found means of throwing ſuccour into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpoſe, he ſkilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the

[f] Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

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season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprize, and found it necessary to go into winter-quarters.

1543. Affairs of Scotland.

The vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent: But the interests of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of so indolent and unambitious a character, that, had he not been stimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had aspired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however dishonourable. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling. By this weakness and levity, he lost his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom: The queen-dowager placed implicit confidence in him: The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension: Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures, and reduced him to some difficulty.

The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalship had tended still farther to rouze the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and

and as he was become assuming, on account of the services which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found, that, since he must chuse between the friendship of Lenox, and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the ascendant, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion; he entered into a secret correspondence with the English court; and he summoned his vassals and partizans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were, on any account, discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their services. In a little time, he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose to him; but as he was a prudent man he foresaw, that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time, by opening a negociation with him. He seduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglasses to change party; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: And Lenox, observing the unequal contest in which he was engaged, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the arrival of English succours, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

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1544. January 14. A parliament.

While the winter ſeaſon reſtrained Henry from military operations, he ſummoned a new parliament; in which a law was paſſed, ſuch as he was pleaſed to dictate, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown. After declaring, that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male iſſue, were firſt and immediate heirs to the crown, the parliament reſtored the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of ſucceſſion. This ſeemed a reaſonable piece of juſtice and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confuſion; but it was impoſſible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable ſoever, without betraying, in ſome circumſtance, his uſual extravagance and caprice: Though he opened the way for theſe two princeſſes to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reverſed, which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of ſtill excluding them, if they refuſed to ſubmit to any conditions which he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own iſſue, he might diſpoſe of the crown as he pleaſed, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foreſee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the paſſive inſtrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purpoſes which he was ſo bent to attain

An act paſſed, declaring that the king's uſual ſtile ſhould be "King of England, France, and Ireland, "defender of the faith, and on earth the ſupreme head "of the church of England and Ireland." It ſeemed a palpable inconſiſtency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him, for maintaining its cauſe againſt Luther; and yet ſubjoin his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, in oppoſition to the claims of that court.

An

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An act also passed for the remission of the debt, which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will easily be believed, that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary[a]. But there was a peculiar circumstance, attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that those who had already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the money to the exchequer.

The oaths, which Henry imposed for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses to which they swore had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths should be understood to have taken the new one[b]. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The most commendable law, to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon an accusation concerning any of the offences comprized in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorised for the purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher accused of speaking, in his sermon, contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority, whenever he demanded subsidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to hazard a re-

[a] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12. [b] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

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fusal, he made no mention this season of a supply: But as his wars, both in France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: And he enhanced gold from fory-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation, was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could anywise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London[i], a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute, or not coming up to the expectation of the commissioners, was inrolled as a foot-soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition[k]. These powers of the prerogative (which at that time passed unquestioned), the compelling of any man to serve in any office, and the imprisoning of any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign, in a manner, absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

EARLY this year the king sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley lord Lisle commanded the sea-forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and, after dispersing a small body which opposed

[i] Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker, p. 292.
[k] Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 590.

them,

them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beaten down (for little or no resistance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and, being joined by a new body under Evers, warden of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces; but finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to total servitude [l].

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Henry's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subduing their spirit; and it was commonly said, that he did too much, if he intended to solicit an alliance, and too little, if he meant a conquest [m]. But the reason of his recalling the troops so soon, was his eagerness to carry on a projected enterprize against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais: Charles from the

[l] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23, 29. [m] Herbert. Burnet.

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Low-countries: They were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose, to these formidable preparations, much above forty thousand men.

24th July. Campaign in France.

Henry, having appointed the queen regent during his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army, which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the Imperialists.

The emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to lose time, while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which was surrendered to him: He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which he took: Ligny met with the same fate: He next laid siege to St. Dizier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance, under the count of Sancerre, the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had first broken his engagement, by forming sieges, or perhaps, foreseeing at last the dangerous consequences of entirely subduing the French

French power, instead of marching forward to Paris, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: The king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation. CHAP. XXXIII. 1544. 14th Sept.

During the course of this siege, Charles had taken St. Dizier; and finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deserting his ally he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first broken the concert by besieging St. Dizier. This answer served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was procured, partly by the decisive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialists at Cerisolles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great desire to turn his arms against the protestant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his 18th Sept.

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troops to separate from the Engliſh in Picardy; and Henry, finding himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign ſerved, to the populace, as matter of great triumph; but all men of ſenſe concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterprizes, made, at a great expence, an acquiſition which was of no importance.

1544. 30th Sept.

THE war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various ſucceſs. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and having laid waſte the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merſe, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took poſſeſſion of, and fortified. The governor aſſembled an army of eight thouſand men, in order to diſlodge them from this poſt; but he had no ſooner opened his batteries before the place, than a ſudden panic ſeized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehenſions leſt they ſhould deliver him into the hands of the Engliſh: but his own unwarlike ſpirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this diſhonourable flight. The Scottiſh army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confuſion; and had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the Engliſh might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this ſucceſs, boaſted to Henry, that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important ſervice. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty ſuch acquiſitions would be maintained againſt a warlike enemy, adviſed the king to grant him, as his reward, the conqueſts of which he boaſted ſo highly. The next inroad made by the Engliſh, ſhewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thouſand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging

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that country; when intelligence was brought him that some Scottish forces appeared near the abbey of Melrose. Angus had roused the governor to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired thither to oppose the enemy. Norman Lesly, son of the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scottish leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds near Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scottish horses led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprise of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis, some time after, sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery, lord of Lorges[k]. Reinforced by these succours, the governor assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and disbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, com-

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[k] Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

mitted

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mitted ravages on the middle and weſt marches; and the war on both ſides was ſignalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any conſiderable advantage gained by either party.

THE war likewiſe between France and England was not diſtinguiſhed this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred ſail, beſides gallies; and having embarked ſome land-forces on board, he ſent them to make a deſcent in England[1]. They ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, where they found the Engliſh fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It conſiſted not of above a hundred ſail; and the admiral thought it moſt adviſeable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the ſinking of the Mary Roſe, one of the largeſt ſhips of the Engliſh fleet, the damage on both ſides was inconſiderable.

FRANCIS's chief intention in equipping ſo great a fleet, was to prevent the Engliſh from throwing ſuccours into Boulogne, which he reſolved to beſiege; and, for that purpoſe, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a conſiderable loſs of time and money, the fort was found ſo ill conſtructed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though he had aſſembled on that frontier an army of near forty thouſand men, he was not able to effect any conſiderable enterprize. Henry, in order to defend his poſſeſſions in France, had levied fourteen thouſand Germans; who, having marched to Fleurines in the biſhopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a paſſage through his dominions: They received intelligence of a ſuperior army

[1] Belcair. Memoires du Bellay.

on

on the side of France ready to intercept them: Want of occupation and of pay soon produced a mutiny among them: And having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There seems to have been some want of foresight in this expensive armament. 1565.

THE great expence of these two wars, maintained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land[n]: The spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property: By one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the universities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels[o], and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it encreased his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities, that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus these ancient and celebrated establishments owe their existence to the generosity of the king, not to the protection of this servile and prostitute parliament. 23d Nov. A parliament.

THE prostitute spirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a statute[p], in which they recognize

[n] Those who possessed goods or money, above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound: Those above ten pounds, a shilling.

[o] A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass, or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed: Free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

[p] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

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1545. the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge, that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate: To him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have, not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, controul their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

24th Dec. THE king made, in person, a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissentions, disputes, and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: That he had permitted his people the use of the Scriptures, not in order to furnish them with materials for disputing and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences, and instruct their children and families: That it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: And that he was sorry to observe that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and

that,

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that, though an imaginary knowledge ſo much abounded, charity was daily going to decay[q]. The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging ſpeculation and diſpute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable ſubmiſſion of opinion which he recommended. 1545.

HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he ſent over the earl of Hertford, and lord Liſle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thouſand men, two-thirds of which conſiſted of foreigners. Some ſkirmiſhes of ſmall moment enſued with the French; and no hopes of any conſiderable progreſs could be entertained by either party. Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was not violent, had given ſufficient vent to his humour by this ſhort war; and finding that, from his great encreaſe in corpulence, and decay in ſtrength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was deſirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewiſe, on his part, was not averſe to peace with England; becauſe, having lately loſt his ſon, the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foreſaw that hoſtilities muſt ſoon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commiſſioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a ſmall place between Ardres and Guiſnes, the articles were ſoon agreed on, and the peace ſigned by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry ſhould retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis ſhould be paid. This debt was ſettled at two millions of livres, beſides a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjuſted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war which coſt him above one million three hundred and 1546. 7th June. Peace with France and Scotland.

[q] Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

forty

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forty thousand pounds sterling[r], was a bad and a chargeable security for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs; particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed on to permit that the Litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the severe law of the six articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to save us *from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities*. Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent on an embassy to the emperor: But Gardiner having written to the king, that, if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for some time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend that he possessed at court, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk: The queen-dowager of France, consort to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one instance that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been worthy of the favour, which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits of the deceased. He declared, that, during the whole

[r] Herbert. Stowe.

course

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course of their friendship, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. "Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as "much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion, which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them [a].

CRANMER himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition in party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that, if his laudable zeal for inforcing the truth met with no better success, it was altogether owing to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy. Henry, seeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make enquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he were found guilty, he should be committed to prison, and brought to condign punishment. Every body now considered the primate as lost; and his old friends, from interested views, as well as the opposite party, from animosity, began to show him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the Tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came be-

[a] Coke's Inst. cap. 99.

fore

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fore the king, he reproved them in the ſevereſt terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: But he was determined to cruſh all their cabals, and to teach them, by the ſevereſt diſcipline, ſince gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and ſaid, that their only intention was to ſet the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: And Henry obliged them all to embrace him, as a ſign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more ſincere on his part, than is uſual in ſuch forced compliances[t].

Perſecutions.

But though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitleſs all accuſations againſt him, his pride and peeviſhneſs, irritated by his declining ſtate of health, impelled him to puniſh with freſh ſeverity all others who preſumed to entertain a different opinion from himſelf, particularly in the capital point of the real preſence. Anne Aſcue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty[u], who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herſelf, was accuſed of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, inſtead of ſhewing indulgence to the weakneſs of her ſex and age, was but the more provoked, that a woman ſhould dare to oppoſe his theological ſentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a ſeeming recantation; but ſhe qualified it with ſome reſerves, which did not ſatisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into priſon, and ſhe there employed herſelf in compoſing prayers and diſcourſes, by which ſhe fortified her reſolution to endure the utmoſt extremity, rather than relinquiſh her religious principles.

[t] Burnet. vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vitâ Cranm.
[u] Bale, Speed, 780.

She

She even wrote to the king, and told him, that, as to the Lord's Supper, she believed as much as Christ himself had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required: But while she could not be brought to acknowledge an assent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor, Wriothesely, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correspondence with her: But she maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in preserving secrecy. Some authors[w] add an extraordinary circumstance: That the chancellor, who stood by, ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to stretch the rack still farther; but that officer refused compliance: The chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refusal: Upon which that magistrate, who was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislocated by the rack, that she could not stand, she was carried to the stake in a chair. Together with her, were conducted Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Lassels, of the king's household, and John Adams, a taylor, who had been con-

[w] Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299. But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, however transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must add, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesely's conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

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demned for the ſame crime to the ſame puniſhment. They were all tied to the ſtake; and in that dreadful ſituation, the chancellor ſent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and ſigned, and ſhould inſtantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they ſaw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which conſumed them. Wriotheſely did not conſider, that this public and noted ſituation intereſted their honour the more to maintain a ſteady perſeverance.

THOUGH the ſecrecy and fidelity of Anne Aſcue ſaved the queen from this peril, that princeſs ſoon after fell into a new danger, from which ſhe narrowly eſcaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him, even more than uſually, peeviſh and paſſionate. The queen attended him with the moſt tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every ſoothing art and compliance, to allay thoſe guſts of humour, to which he was become ſo ſubject. His favourite topic of converſation was theology; and Catherine, whoſe good ſenſe enabled her to diſcourſe on any ſubject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being ſecretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, ſhe unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on theſe occaſions. Henry, highly provoked, that ſhe ſhould preſume to differ from him, complained of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praiſed the king's anxious concern for preſerving the orthodoxy of his ſubjects; and repreſented, that the more elevated the perſon was who was chaſtiſed, and the more near to his perſon, the greater terror would the example ſtrike into every one, and the more

more glorious would the ſacrifice appear to poſterity. The chancellor, being conſulted, was engaged by religious zeal to ſecond theſe topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counſellors, went ſo far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up againſt his conſort. Wriotheſely executed his commands; and ſoon after brought the paper to him to be ſigned: For as it was high treaſon to throw ſlander upon the queen, he might otherwiſe have been queſtioned for his temerity. By ſome means, this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was ſenſible of the extreme danger to which ſhe was expoſed; but did not deſpair of being able, by her prudence and addreſs, ſtill to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her uſual viſit to the king, and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He entered on the ſubject, which was ſo familiar to him; and he ſeemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the converſation, and remarked, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid, by their firſt creation, were made ſubject to men: The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: It belonged to the huſband to chuſe principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all caſes, to adopt implicitly the ſentiments of her huſband: And as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleſt with a huſband, who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chuſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing of every nation. "Not ſo! by St. Mary," replied the king, "you are now become a doctor, Kate; "and better fitted to give than receive inſtruction." She meekly replied, that ſhe was ſenſible how little ſhe was intitled

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titled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve to no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish, when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics, whence, she had observed by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king, "then are "we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the Tower, pursuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: She even overheard the appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which he liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence. She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: He said to her, "Poor soul! you know not how ill intitled this "man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion[x].

[x] Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58.

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But Henry's tyrannical diſpoſition, ſoured by ill health, burſt out ſoon after to the deſtruction of a man, who poſſeſſed a much ſuperior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greateſt ſubjects in the kingdom, and had rendered conſiderable ſervice to the crown. The duke himſelf had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterprizes: He had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden: He had ſuppreſſed a dangerous rebellion in the North: And he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions againſt France. Fortune ſeemed to conſpire with his own induſtry, in raiſing him to the greateſt elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the crown, he had acquired an immenſe eſtate: The king had ſucceſſively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural ſon, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: Beſides, his deſcent from the ancient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had eſpouſed a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was deſcended by a female from Edward III.: And as he was believed ſtill to adhere ſecretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all theſe circumſtances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealouſy of Henry; and he foreſaw danger, during his ſon's minority, both to the public tranquillity, and to the new eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, from the attempts of ſo potent a ſubject. But nothing tended more to expoſe Norfolk to the king's diſpleaſure, than the prejudices which Henry had entertained againſt the earl of Surrey, ſon of that nobleman.

Surrey was a young man of the moſt promiſing hopes, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by every accom-

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1546. pliſhment, which became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He excelled in all the military exerciſes which were then in requeſt: He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: He had made ſome ſucceſsful attempts in poetry; and being ſmitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praiſes of his miſtreſs, by his pen and his lance, in every maſque and tournament. His ſpirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reſerve which his ſituation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne, when that town was taken by Henry; but though his perſonal bravery was unqueſtioned, he had been unfortunate in ſome rencounters with the French. The king, ſomewhat diſpleaſed with his conduct, had ſent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was ſo imprudent as to drop ſome menacing expreſſions againſt the miniſters, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refuſed to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other propoſal of marriage, Henry imagined, that he had entertained views of eſpouſing the lady Mary; and he was inſtantly determined to repreſs, by the moſt ſevere expedients, ſo dangerous an ambition.

ACTUATED by all theſe motives, and perhaps influenced by that old diſguſt, with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inſpired him againſt her whole family, he gave private orders to arreſt Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the ſame day confined in the

12th Dec. Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments

1547. nor juries ſeem ever to have given the leaſt attention to them in any cauſe of the crown, during this whole reign.

Execution of the earl of Surrey. He was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians who were *ſuſpected* to be ſpies; a ſervant of his had paid

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paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was *suspected* of holding a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, which made him be *suspected* of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treason; and their sentence was soon after executed upon him. 1547.

Attainder of the duke of Norfolk.

The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; and his services to the crown had been greater. His dutchess, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the designs of the court: Yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime, than his once saying, that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: Soon after, he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He assembled a parliament, as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great in- 14th Jan.

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juries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon[y]. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the Tower, that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

THE king's health had long been in a declining state; but for several days all those near him plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition; and as some persons, during this reign, had suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death[z], every one was afraid, lest, in the transports of his fury, he might, on this pretence, punish capitally the author of such friendly intelligence. At last, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer

[y] Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

[z] Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1541.

might

might be ſent for: But before the prelate arrived he was ſpeechleſs, though he ſtill ſeemed to retain his ſenſes. Cranmer deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt: He ſqueezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months; and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

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1547. Death of the king.

The king had made his will near a month before his demiſe; in which he confirmed the deſtination of parliament, by leaving the crown firſt to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: The two princeſſes he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without conſent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor ſon. After his own children, he ſettled the ſucceſſion on Frances Brandon, marchioneſs of Dorſet, elder daughter of his ſiſter, the French queen; then on Eleanor, counteſs of Cumberland, the ſecond daughter. In paſſing over the poſterity of the queen of Scots, his elder ſiſter, he made uſe of the power obtained from parliament; but as he ſubjoined, that, after the failure of the French queen's poſterity, the crown ſhould deſcend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a queſtion, whether theſe words could be applied to the Scottiſh line. It was thought, that theſe princes were not the next heirs after the houſe of Suffolk, but before that houſe; and that Henry, by expreſſing himſelf in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries, which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely againſt that nation; and he maintained to the laſt that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Another circumſtance of his will may ſuggeſt the ſame reflection with regard to the ſtrange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: He left money for

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for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions, established by his ancestors and others, for the benefit of *their* souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith, which he promulgated during his later years; he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care, at least, of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question[a].

His character.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: He was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute, uncontrouled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him, in some degree, to the appellation of a *great* prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a *good* one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: And though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts, and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man, who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who, in every controversy, was determined, either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: Violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he, at inter-

[a] See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, p. 110. There is no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

vals,

vals, altogether deſtitute of virtues: He was ſincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at leaſt of a temporary friendſhip and attachment. In this reſpect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign ſerved to diſplay his faults in their full light: The treatment, which he met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his ſuperſtitious ſubjects, ſeemed to require the moſt extreme ſeverity. But it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged, that his ſituation tended to throw an additional luſtre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithſtanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: The extenſive powers of his prerogative, and the ſubmiſſive, not to ſay ſlaviſh, diſpoſition of his parliaments, made it the more eaſy for him to aſſume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is ſo much diſtinguiſhed in the Engliſh hiſtory.

It may ſeem a little extraordinary, that, notwithſtanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary adminiſtration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his ſubjects; but never was the object of their hatred: He ſeems even in ſome degree to have poſſeſſed, to the laſt, their love and affection [b]. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: His magnificence and perſonal bravery rendered him illuſtrious in vulgar eyes: And it may be ſaid, with truth, that the Engliſh in that age were ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that, like eaſtern ſlaves, they were inclined to admire thoſe acts of violence and tyranny which were exerciſed over themſelves, and at their own expence.

With regard to foreign ſtates, Henry appears long to have ſupported an intercourſe of friendſhip with Francis,

[b] Strype, vol. i p. 389.

more

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more ſincere and diſintereſted than uſually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealouſy of the emperor Charles, and ſome reſemblance in their characters (though the compariſon ſets the French monarch in a very ſuperior and advantageous light), ſerved as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is ſaid to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expreſſed much regret for the loſs. His own health began to decline: He foretold, that he ſhould not long ſurvive his friend[c]: And he died in about two months after him.

Miſcellaneous tranſactions.

THERE were ten parliaments ſummoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three ſeſſions held. The whole time, in which theſe parliaments ſat during this long reign, exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the firſt twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call theſe aſſemblies more frequently: But though theſe were the moſt important tranſactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted ſubmiſſion to Henry's will, added to their earneſt deſire of ſoon returning to their country-ſeats, produced a quick diſpatch of the bills, and made the ſeſſions of ſhort duration. All the king's caprices were, indeed, blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the ſafety or liberty of the ſubject. Beſides the violent proſecution of whatever he was pleaſed to term hereſy, the laws of treaſon were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the diſparagement of the king, queen, or royal iſſue, were ſubjected to that penalty; and ſo little care was taken in framing theſe rigorous ſtatutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; inſomuch that, had they been ſtrictly executed, every man, without exception, muſt have fallen

[c] Le Thou.

under

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under the penalty of treaſon. By one ſtatute[d], for inſtance, it was declared treaſon to aſſert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another[e], it was treaſon to ſay any thing to the diſparagement or ſlander of the princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them ſpurious, would, no doubt, have been conſtrued to their ſlander. Nor would even a profound ſilence, with regard to theſe delicate points, be able to ſave a perſon from ſuch penalties. For by the former ſtatute, whoever refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was ſubjected to the pains of treaſon. The king, therefore, needed only propoſe to any one a queſtion with regard to the legality of either of his firſt marriages: If the perſon were ſilent, he was a traitor by law: If he anſwered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no leſs a traitor. So monſtrous were the inconſiſtencies, which aroſe from the furious paſſions of the king, and the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion of his parliaments. It is hard to ſay, whether theſe contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed deſign of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the ſtatutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: Nothing can better ſhow the genius of the age than ſuch a review of the laws.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of juſtice. While the catholic ſuperſtition ſubſiſted, there was no poſſibility of puniſhing any crime in the clergy: The church would not permit the magiſtrate to try the offences of her members, and ſhe could not herſelf inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry reſtrained theſe pernicious im-

[d] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

[e] 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

munities:

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munities: The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon[f]. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason[g]; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason[h]: And it limited them in other particulars[i]. The farther progress of the reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects; and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

THE only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of some old laws, enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow[k]: Butts were ordered to be erected in every parish[l]: And every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew, which he made, to make two of elm or wich, for the service of the common people[m]. The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited[n]. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled, upon occasion, to engage in close fight with the enemy[o]. Frequent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called[p]. The martial spirit of the English, dur-

[f] 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1. [g] 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13. [h] 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. [i] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14. [k] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. [n] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13. [o] Herbert. [p] Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 525. Hollingshed, p. 547.

ing that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could instantly, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men[q]. Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to those troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first[r], Boulogne afterwards, served to encrease the number. Every one, who served abroad, was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees[s]. A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will[t]. The parliament was so little jealous of its privileges (which indeed were, at that time, scarcely worth preserving), that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwal: Heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: Yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paultry court, was to enact, that no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament[u]. This prohibition, however, must be supposed to extend only to the inferior courts: For as to the king, and privy-council, and star-chamber, they were scarcely bound by any law.

[q] Hall, fol. 235. Hollingshed, p. 547. Stowe, p. 577. [r] Hall, fol. 68. [s] 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 25. [t] 31 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5. [u] 4 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

THERE

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THERE is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which ſhews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the ſovereign [w]. This duty had been voted to every king ſince Henry IV. during the term of his own life only: Yet Henry VIII. had been allowed to levy it ſix years without any law; and though there had been four parliaments aſſembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or reſtrain him from levying it. At laſt, the parliament reſolved to give him that ſupply; but even in this conceſſion, they plainly ſhow themſelves at a loſs to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himſelf to levy it. They ſay, that the impoſition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king, and no longer: They yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the preſent king: They obſerve, that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no ſcruple to call that impoſition the king's due: They affirm, that he had ſuſtained great and manifold loſſes by thoſe who had defrauded him of it; and to provide a remedy, they vote him that ſupply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithſtanding this laſt clauſe, all his ſucceſſors, for more than a century, perſevered in the like irregular practice: If a practice may deſerve that epithet, in which the whole nation acquieſced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles I. attempted to continue in the ſame courſe, which had now received the ſanction of many generations, ſo much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempeſt was excited by it; and hiſtorians, partial or ignorant, ſtill repreſent this meaſure as a moſt violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

[w] 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

THE

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THE king was allowed to make laws for Wales, without consent of parliament [z]. It was forgotten, that, with regard both to Wales and England, the limitation was abolished by the statute, which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws.

THE foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of those countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both, in case of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and though the king usually bore a greater friendship to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

IN 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was soon felt on both sides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them [y]. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

IT was not till the end of this reign that any sallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables, that was used, was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders [z]. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged

[z] 34 Hen. VIII. [y] Hall, folio 174. [z] Anderson, vol. i. p. 338.

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to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose. The use of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

Foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality: Hence the violent animosity which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants; and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made enquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and

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and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he dismissed them without farther punishment[a].

So great was the number of foreign artizans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine[b]. Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities[c]. He also asserts, that the vast multitude of foreigners raised the price of grain and bread[d]. And to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their house, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealousy arose against the foreign merchants; and, to appease it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens[e]. The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artizans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom, for debts and crimes, are asserted, in an act of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and above[f]; which is scarcely credible. Harrison asserts that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery; which would amount nearly to 2000 a-year. He adds, that, in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally 400 in a year: It appears that, in all England, there are not at present fifty executed for those crimes. If these facts be just, there

[a] Stowe, 605. Hollingshed, 840.
[b] Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 232.
[c] 31 Hen. VIII.
[d] Ibid.
[e] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8.
[f] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

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has been a great improvement in morals ſince the reign of Henry VIII. And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the encreaſe of induſtry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and, what is almoſt of equal importance, occupation, to the lower claſſes.

THERE is a remarkable clauſe in a ſtatute paſſed near the beginning of this reign[5], by which we might be induced to believe, that England was extremely decayed from the flouriſhing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward II. that no magiſtrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep aſſize, ſhould, during the continuance of his magiſtracy, ſell, either in wholeſale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law ſeemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the aſſize: Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reaſon aſſigned is, that "ſince the making of that ſtatute "and ordinance, many and the moſt part of all the cities, "boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realm "of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are "not inhabited by merchants, and men of ſuch ſub-"ſtance as at the time of making that ſtatute: For at "this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the ſame "cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, "fiſhmongers, and other victuallers, and there remain "few others to bear the offices." Men have ſuch a propenſity to exalt paſt times above the preſent, that it ſeems dangerous to credit this reaſoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to ſupport it. So different are the views in which the ſame object appears, that ſome may be inclined to draw an oppoſite inference from this fact. A more regular police was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Henry VIII. than in any former period, and a ſtricter adminiſtration of juſtice; an advantage which

[5] 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

induced

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induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey, in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the encrease of riches, that the customs had encreased beyond what they were formerly [h].

But if there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes of this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, and retrenching holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted [i]: Luxury in apparel was prohibited, by repeated statutes [k]; and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter [l]. A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal [m]. Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound: Mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed [n].

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, still continued [o]; as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where any farm-houses were allowed to fall to decay [p]. The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock, was restrained to two thousand [q].

h Hall, folio 210. i 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. k 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7. l 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. m 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3 n 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21.
o Stype, vol. i. p. 392. p 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII c. 1.
q 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

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Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor, or farmer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the encreasing price of mutton to this encrease of sheep: Because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure[q]. It is more probable, that the effect proceeded from the daily encrease of money: For it seems almost impossible, that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteenpence of our present money[r]. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: A presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants[s]; one of the circumstances in government, which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner, as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: And the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest, was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, con-

[q] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. [r] Anderson, vol. i. p. 374. [s] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

fining

fining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general[t]. There remain still too many traces of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign, the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut up by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited from exercising any trade who was not of the corporation[u].

HENRY, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College: But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern[w]. But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions, which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans, and sometimes fought with as great animosity as was formerly exercised by those hostile nations. A new and more correct method of pronouncing Greek being introduced, it also divided the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was remarked that the catholics favoured the former pronunciation, the protestants gave countenance to the new. Gardiner employed the authority of the king and council to suppress innovations in this particular, and to preserve the corrupt sound of the Greek alphabet. So little li-

[t] 21 Hen. VIII. c. 22. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24. [u] 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c 20. [w] Strype, vol. i. p. 217.

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berty was then allowed of any kind! The penalties inflicted upon the new pronunciation were no less than whipping, degradation, and expulsion; and the bishop declared, that, rather than permit the liberty of innovating in the pronunciation of the Greek alphabet, it were better that the language itself were totally banished the universities. The introduction of the Greek language into Oxford excited the emulation of Cambridge[x]. Wolsey intended to have enriched the library of his college at Oxford with copies of all the manuscrips that were in the Vatican[y]. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England: Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge[z]. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More, though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.

x Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 245.
y Ibid. 249.
z Epist. ad. Banisium. Also Epist. p. 368.

CHAP. XXXIV.

EDWARD VI.

State of the regency — Innovations in the regency — Hertford protector — Reformation completed — Gardiner's opposition — Foreign affairs — Progress of the reformation in Scotland — Assassination of cardinal Beaton — Conduct of the war with Scotland — Battle of Pinkey — A parliament — Farther progress of the reformation — Affairs of Scotland — Young queen of Scots sent into France — Cabals of lord Seymour — Dudley earl of Warwic — A parliament — Attainder of lord Seymour — His execution — Ecclesiastical affairs.

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1547. State of the regency.

THE late king, by the regulations which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined that his ministers, who had always been so obsequious to him during his lifetime, would never afterwards depart from the plan which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few months past nine, he appointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor; lord St. John,

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John, great master; lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state, Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To these executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice, when any affair was laid before them. The council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex; Sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwel, and Sir Edmund Peckham[a]. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

Innovations in the regency.

But the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king in a material article. No sooner were they met, than it was suggested, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head, who might represent the royal majesty, who might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: And as the king's will

[a] Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

seemed

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ſeemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was deemed neceſſary to ſupply it, by chuſing a protector; who, though he ſhould poſſeſs all the exterior ſymbols of royal dignity, ſhould yet be bound, in every act of power, to follow the opinion of the executors[b]. This propoſal was very diſagreeable to chancellor Wriotheſely. That magiſtrate, a man of an active ſpirit and high ambition, found himſelf, by his office, entitled to the firſt rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew that this prelate had no talent or inclination for ſtate affairs, he hoped that the direction of public buſineſs would of courſe devolve in a great meaſure upon himſelf. He oppoſed, therefore, the propoſal of chuſing a protector; and repreſented that innovation as an infringement of the late king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be a law to them, and could not be altered but by the ſame authority which had eſtabliſhed it. But he ſeems to have ſtood alone in the oppoſition. The executors and counſellors were moſtly courtiers, who had been raiſed by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been ſufficiently accuſtomed to ſubmiſſion during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretenſions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquieſced the more willingly in a propoſal which ſeemed calculated for preſerving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of courſe on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was ſtrongly intereſted in his ſafety; and, poſſeſſing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any ſeparate intereſt, which might lead him to endanger Edward's perſon or his authority[c]. The public was informed by proclamation of this change in the adminiſtration; and diſpatches were

Hertford protector.

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5.

[c] Heylin, Hiſt. Ref. Edw. VI.

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The executors, in their next measure, showed a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the new peers to support their dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will, he charged his executors to make good all his promises [f]. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the board of regency; and having given evidence of what they knew concerning the king's promises, their testimony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling of these engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; Wriothesely, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquess of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwic;

17th Feb.

[d] Collier, vol. ii. p. 218. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. [e] Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141.

[f] Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer.

Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron[s]. Several to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promise, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, as also Somerset, the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends. For, among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and property, this irregular practice, of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen, began now to prevail.

The earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed, even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration that usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to public business, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute, in his absence, the office of chancellor. This measure seemed very exceptionable; and the more so, as, two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected that, by this nomination, the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of the opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The

[s] Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

council

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council summoned him to appear before them. He maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial in parliament; that if the commission which he had granted were found illegal, it might be cancelled, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized. But the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure [h].

THE removal of Southampton encreased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress faction in the regency; yet was not Somerset contented with this advantage: His ambition carried him to seek still farther acquisitions. On pretence, that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Harry VIII. produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: He reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure: And he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they deemed for the public service, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever [i]. Even had this patent been more moderate in its concessions, and had

22 March.

[h] Hollingshed, p. 979.

[i] Burnet, vol. ii. Records, No. 6.

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it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned; since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons entrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: But as the patent, by its very tenor, where the executors are not so much as mentioned, appears to have been surreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of sense, likewise, who saw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitancies of faction, and ensure the public tranquillity. And though some clauses of the patent seemed to imply a formal subversion of all limited government, so little jealousy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person possessed of sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many, and great, and flagrant, and unpopular instances, was able sometimes to give some umbrage to the nation.

Reformation completed.

The extensive authority and imperious character of Henry, had retained the partizans of both religions in subjection; but, upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics, began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes to more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as a secret parti-

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zan of the reformers; and being now freed from reſtraint, he ſcrupled not to diſcover his intention of correcting all abuſes in the ancient religion, and of adopting ſtill more of the proteſtant innovations. He took care that all perſons, entruſted with the king's education, ſhould be attached to the ſame principles; and as the young prince diſcovered a zeal for every kind of literature, eſpecially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foreſaw, in the courſe of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith in England; and they early began to declare themſelves in favour of thoſe tenets, which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council ſeemed to retain any attachment to the Romiſh communion; and moſt of the counſellors appeared even ſanguine in forwarding the progreſs of the reformation. The riches, which moſt of them had acquired from the ſpoils of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by eſtabliſhing a contrariety of ſpeculative tenets, as well as of diſcipline and worſhip, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable[k]. Their rapacity alſo, the chief ſource of their reforming ſpirit, was excited by the proſpect of pillaging the ſecular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew that, while any ſhare of the old principles remained, or any regard to the eccleſiaſtics, they could never hope to ſucceed in that enterprize.

THE numerous and burthenſome ſuperſtitions, with which the Romiſh church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the ſpirit of oppoſition, into an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior obſervances were zealouſly proſcribed by them, as hindrances to their ſpiritual contemplations, and obſtructions to their immediate converſe

[k] Goodwin's Annals. Heylin.

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with heaven. Many circumſtances concurred to inflame this daring ſpirit; the novelty itſelf of their doctrines, the triumph of making proſelytes, the furious perſecutions to which they were expoſed, their animoſity againſt the ancient tenets and practices, and the neceſſity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depreſſing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the eccleſiaſtics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the oppoſition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with conſequences which, though leſs durable, were, for ſome time, not leſs dangerous than thoſe which were connected with the ancient ſuperſtition. But as the magiſtrate took the lead in England, the tranſition was more gradual; much of the ancient religion was ſtill preſerved; and a reaſonable degree of ſubordination was retained in diſcipline, as well as ſome pomp, order, and ceremony in public worſhip. CHAP. XXXIV. 1547.

The protector, in his ſchemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourſe to the counſels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averſe to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by inſenſible innovations, to that ſyſtem of doctrine and diſcipline which he deemed the moſt pure and perfect. He probably alſo foreſaw that a ſyſtem, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be moſt laſting; and that a devotion merely ſpiritual was fitted only for the firſt fervours of a new ſect, and upon the relaxation of theſe naturally gave place to the inroads of ſuperſtition. He ſeems, therefore, to have intended the eſtabliſhment of a hierarchy, which, being ſuited to a great and ſettled government, might ſtand as a perpetual barrier againſt Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthuſiaſtic zeal was diminiſhed, or entirely evaporated.

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THE perſon who oppoſed, with greateſt authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late diſguſts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the higheſt truſt and confidence of his party. This prelate ſtill continued to magnify the great wiſdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and ſincerely revered by the nation; and he inſiſted on the prudence of perſevering, at leaſt till the young king's majority, in the eccleſiaſtical model eſtabliſhed by that great monarch. He defended the uſe of images, which were now openly attacked by the proteſtants; and he repreſented them as ſerviceable in maintaining a ſenſe of religion among the illiterate multitude[l]. He even deigned to write an apology for *holy water*, which biſhop Ridley had decried in a ſermon; and he maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an inſtrument of doing good; as much as the ſhadow of St. Peter, the hem of Chriſt's garment, or the ſpittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind[m]. Above all, he inſiſted that the laws ought to be obſerved, that the conſtitution ought to be preſerved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the ſovereign, in oppoſition to an act of parliament[n].

Gardiner's oppoſition.

BUT though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a conſtitution, ſufficient at leaſt to furniſh a topic of argument to ſuch as were diſcontented with any immediate exerciſe of authority, this plea could ſcarcely, in the preſent caſe, be maintained with any plauſibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had inveſted the crown with a legiſlative power; and royal

[l] Fox, vol. ii. p. 712.
[m] Ibid. p. 724.
[n] Collier, vol. ii. p. 728. Fox, vol. ii.

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proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his authority in favour of the reformers; and having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England[o]. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain, for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling of their beds with holy water, and the ringing of bells, or using of consecrated candles, in order to drive away the devil[p].

But nothing required more the correcting hand of authority than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the ancient practices and superstitions. The court of augmentation, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: Twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: And all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching any

[o] Mem. Cranm. p. 146, 147, &c. [p] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 28.

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where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

Bonner made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more high-spirited and more steady. He represented the peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of adhering to some system. "'Tis a dangerous thing," said he, "to "use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If "you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther "than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humour "of novelty, you cannot put a stop to people's demands, "nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure. For my "part," said he, on another occasion, "my sole con-"cern is to manage the third and last act of my life with "decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. "Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about "the rest. I am already by nature condemned to death: "No man can give me a pardon from this sentence; nor "so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind, "and to act as my conscience directs, are two branches "of liberty which I can never part with. Sincerity in "speech, and integrity in action, are entertaining qua-"lities: They will stick by a man when every thing "else takes its leave; and I must not resign them upon "any consideration. The best on it is, if I do not "throw them away myself, no man can force them from "me: But if I give them up, then am I ruined by my-"self, and deserve to lose all my preferments[q]." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

[q] Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibliotheca Britannica, article Gardiner.

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One of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner againſt the new homilies, was, that they defined, with the moſt metaphyſical preciſion, the doctrines of grace, and of juſtification by faith; points, he thought, which it was ſuperfluous for any man to know exactly, and which certainly much exceeded the comprehenſion of the vulgar. A famous martyrologiſt calls Gardiner, on account of this opinion, "An inſenſible aſs, and one that "had no feeling of God's ſpirit in the matter of juſtifica-"tion[r]." The meaneſt proteſtant imagined, at that time, that he had a full comprehenſion of all thoſe myſterious doctrines; and he heartily deſpiſed the moſt learned and knowing perſon of the ancient religion, who acknowledged his ignorance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of juſtification, and might venture to foretel its ſucceſs, in oppoſition to all the ceremonies, ſhows, and ſuperſtitions of popery. By exalting Chriſt and his ſufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourſelves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with thoſe principles of panegyric and of ſelf-abaſement which generally have place in religion.

Tonstal, biſhop of Durham, having, as well as Gardiner, made ſome oppoſition to the new regulations, was diſmiſſed the council; but no farther ſeverity was, for the preſent, exerciſed againſt him. He was a man of great moderation, and of the moſt unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

Foreign affairs.

The ſame religious zeal which engaged Somerſet to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the intereſts of the proteſtants were now expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance, and after long delays, had at laſt ſummoned a general coun-

[r] Fox, vol. ii.

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cil, which was assembled at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness so deeply interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates, who presided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in argument, and altercation, and dispute concerning the nice points of faith canvassed before them: A policy so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision[a]. The more difficult task for the legates was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council to Bologna, where, they hoped, it would be more under the direction of his holiness.

The emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the palatine and the elector of Brandenburgh from the protestant confederacy: He took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: By the fortune of war, he made the former prisoner: He employed treachery and

[a] Father Paul, lib. 2.

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prevarication againſt the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a ſafe-conduct which he had granted him. He ſeemed to have reached the ſummit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were aſtoniſhed with his ſucceſs, were farther diſcouraged by the intelligence which they had received of the death, firſt of Henry VIII. then of Francis I. their uſual reſources in every calamity[t]. 1547.

Henry II. who ſucceeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and abilities; but leſs haſty in his reſolution than Francis, and leſs enflamed with rivalſhip and animoſity againſt the emperor Charles. Though he ſent ambaſſadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic League, and promiſed them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war with ſo great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of thoſe princes was a ſure reſource, which he could at any time lay hold of[u]. He was much governed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine; and he hearkened to their counſel, in chuſing rather to give immediate aſſiſtance to Scotland, his ancient ally, which, even before the death of Henry VIII. had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

Progreſs of the reformation in Scotland.

The hatred between the two factions, the partizans of the ancient and thoſe of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the reſolution which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the moſt rigorous puniſhments againſt the reformers, brought matters to a quick deciſion. There was one Wiſhart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himſelf with great zeal in preaching againſt the ancient ſuperſtitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were juſtly terrified with the danger of ſome fatal revolution in religion. This

[t] Sleidan. [u] Pere Daniel.

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man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extenſive learning: But theſe praiſes cannot be much depended on; becauſe we know that, among the reformers, ſeverity of manners ſupplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general ſo ignorant, that moſt of the prieſts in Scotland imagined the New Teſtament to be a compoſition of Luther's, and aſſerted that the Old alone was the word of God[w]. But however the caſe may have ſtood with regard to thoſe eſtimable qualities aſcribed to Wiſhart, he was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the deſire of innovation; and he enjoyed thoſe talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for ſeizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magiſtrates of Dundee, where he exerciſed his miſſion, were alarmed with his progreſs; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themſelves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with diſmiſſing him the bounds of their juriſdiction. Wiſhart, moved with indignation, that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with ſome imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the weſt country, where he daily encreaſed the number of his proſelytes. Meanwhile, a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by baniſhing the pious preacher, and that the peſtilence would never ceaſe, till they had made him atonement for their offence againſt him. No ſooner did Wiſhart hear of this change in their diſpoſition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: But leſt he ſhould ſpread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: The infected ſtood within; the others without. And the preacher

[w] See note [P] at the end of the volume.

failed

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failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission [x].

The assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he resolved, by the punishment of so celebrated a preacher, to strike a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwel to arrest him, and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwel to that unhappy man: And being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the governor, was irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him over to his party, found that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart. He determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his window the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should, in the very same place, lie as low, as now he was exalted aloft, in opposition to true piety and religion [y].

Assassination of cardinal Beaton.

This prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprize with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and, though they were not above sixteen persons, they

x Knox's Hist. of Ref. p. 44. Spotswood.

y Spotswood, Buchanan.

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thruſt out a hundred tradeſmen and fifty ſervants, whom they ſeized ſeparately, before any ſuſpicion aroſe of their intentions; and having ſhut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpoſe on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noiſe which he heard in the caſtle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: But finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promiſe of life, he opened the door; and reminding them that he was a prieſt, he conjured them to ſpare him. Two of the aſſaſſins ruſhed upon him with drawn ſwords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more conſiderate in villany, ſtopped their career, and bade them reflect that this ſacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his ſword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy ſins "and iniquities, eſpecially of the murder of Wiſhart, "that inſtrument of God for the converſion of theſe "lands: It is his death which now cries vengeance "upon thee: We are ſent by God to inflict the de-"ſerved puniſhment. For here, before the Almighty, "I proteſt, that it is neither hatred of thy perſon, nor "love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which "moves me to ſeek thy death: But only becauſe thou "haſt been, and ſtill remaineſt, an obſtinate enemy to "Chriſt Jeſus, and his holy goſpel." Having ſpoken theſe words, without giving Beaton time to finiſh that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thruſt him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet[z]. This murder was executed on the 28th of May 1546.

[z] The famous Scotch reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65, a man moſt gentle and moſt modeſt. It is very horrid, but at the ſame time ſomewhat amuſing, to conſider the joy and alacrity and pleaſure, which that hiſtorian

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1546. The aſſaſſins, being reinforced by their friends, to the number of a hundred and forty perſons, prepared themſelves for the defence of the caſtle, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego the opportunity of diſturbing the government of a rival-kingdom; and he promiſed to take them under his protection.

It was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five ſhort reigns had been ſucceſſively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of juſtice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions, and animoſities of the great. But beſides theſe inveterate and ancient evils, a new ſource of diſorder had ariſen, the diſputes and contentions of theology, which were ſufficient to diſturb the moſt ſettled government; and the death of the cardinal, who was poſſeſſed of abilities and vigour, ſeemed much to weaken the hands of the adminiſtration. But the queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents and virtue; and ſhe did as much to ſupport the government, and ſupply the weakneſs of Arran, the governor, as could be expected in her ſituation.

Conduct of the war with Scotland.

The protector of England, as ſoon as the ſtate was brought to ſome compoſure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if poſſible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been ſo intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. He levied an army of 18,000

hiſtorian diſcovers in his narrative of this aſſaſſination: And it is remarkable that in the firſt edition of his work, theſe words were printed on the margin of the page, *The godly Fact and Words of James Melvil* But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himſelf had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the aſſaſſins, and aſſiſted them in holding out the caſtle. See Keith's Hiſt. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 43.

men,

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men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, the other laden with proviſions and ammunition. He gave the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: He himſelf marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl of Warwic. Theſe hoſtile meaſures were covered with a pretence of revenging ſome depredations committed by the borderers; but beſides, that Somerſet revived the ancient claim of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh crown over that of Scotland, he refuſed to enter into negociation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

The protector, before he opened the campaign, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that meaſure. He ſaid, that nature ſeemed originally to have intended this iſland for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign ſtates, and guarded it by the ocean, ſhe had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happineſs and to ſecurity: That the education and cuſtoms of the people concurred with nature; and, by giving them the ſame language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: That fortune had at laſt removed all obſtacles, and had prepared an expedient, by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealouſy, either of honour or of intereſt, to which rival nations are naturally expoſed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved on a female; that of England on a male; and happily the two ſovereigns, as of a rank, were alſo of an age, the moſt ſuitable to each other: That the hoſtile diſpoſitions, which prevailed between the nations, and which aroſe from paſt injuries, would ſoon be extinguiſhed, after a long and ſecure peace had eſtabliſhed confidence between them: That the memory of former miſeries, which at preſent inflamed their mutual animoſity, would then ſerve only to make them

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cherish, with more passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity so long unknown to their ancestors: That when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scottish nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: That as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: That though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of future peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that, besides all these motives, positive engagements had been taken for completing this alliance; and the honour and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what her interest and safety so loudly demanded [a].

Somerset soon perceived that these remonstrances would have no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negociations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwic, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance for some days, except from some small castles, which he obliged to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of these castles for their temerity in resisting such unequal force: But they eluded

2d Sept.

[a] Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.

his

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his anger by aſking only a few hours' reſpite, till they ſhould prepare themſelves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy[c].

The governor of Scotland had ſummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the Engliſh, had taken poſt on advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eſke, about four miles from Edinburgh. The Engliſh came within ſight of them at Faſide; and after a ſkirmiſh between the horſe, where the Scots were worſted, and lord Hume dangerouſly wounded, Somerſet prepared himſelf for a more deciſive action. But having taken a view of the Scottiſh camp with the earl of Warwic, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of ſucceſs. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would ſtipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to detain her at home, till ſhe reached the age of chuſing a huſband for herſelf. So moderate a demand was rejected by the Scots merely on account of its moderation; and it made them imagine that the protector muſt either be reduced to great diſtreſs, or be influenced by fear, that he was now contented to abate ſo much of his former pretenſions. Inflamed alſo by their prieſts, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed, that the Engliſh were deteſtable heretics, abhorred of God, and expoſed to divine vengeance; and that no ſucceſs could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they ſaw the protector change his ground, and move towards the ſea; nor did they any longer doubt, that he intended to embark his army, and make his eſcape on board the ſhips, which at

[c] Haywood. Patten.

that

that very time moved into the bay, oppoſite to him [c]. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp; and paſſing the river Eſke, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry conſiſted only of light horſe, which were placed on their left flank, ſtrengthened by ſome Iriſh archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this ſervice. 1547. 10th Sept.

SOMERSET was much pleaſed when he ſaw this movement of the Scottiſh army; and as the Engliſh had uſually been ſuperior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of ſucceſs. He ranged his van on the left, fartheſt from the ſea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy ſhould approach: He placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he poſted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scottiſh van in flank, but not till they ſhould be engaged in cloſe fight with the van of the Engliſh. The battle of Pinkey.

WHILE the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the Engliſh ſhips: The eldeſt ſon of lord Graham was killed: The Iriſh archers were thrown into diſorder; and even the other troops began to ſtagger: When lord Grey, perceiving their ſituation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and, at the head of his heavy-armed horſe, made an attack on the Scottiſh infantry, in hopes of gaining all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a ſlough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the enemy armed with ſpears, and the field, on which they ſtood, was fallow ground, broken with ridges, which lay acroſs their front, and diſordered the movements of the Engliſh cavalry. From all theſe accidents, the ſhock of

[c] Hollingſhed, p. 983.

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this body of horſe was feeble and irregular; and as they were received on the points of the Scottiſh ſpears, which were longer than the lances of the Engliſh horſemen, they were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and diſcomfited. Grey himſelf was dangerouſly wounded: Lord Edward Seymour, ſon of the protector, had his horſe killed under him: The ſtandard was near being taken: And had the Scots poſſeſſed any good body of cavalry, who could have purſued the advantage, the whole Engliſh army had been expoſed to great danger[c].

THE protector, mean-while, aſſiſted by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himſelf with diligence and ſucceſs, in rallying the cavalry. Warwic ſhowed great preſence of mind in maintaining the ranks of the foot, on which the horſe had recoiled: He made Sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot harquebuſiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of ſome Italian and Spaniſh harquebuſiers on horſeback; and ordered them to ply the Scottiſh infantry with their ſhot. They marched to the ſlough, and diſcharged their pieces full in the face of the enemy: The ſhips galled them from the flank: The artillery, planted on a height, infeſted them from the front: The Engliſh archers poured in a ſhower of arrows upon them: And the vanguard, deſcending from the hill, advanced leiſurely, and in good order, towards them. Diſmayed with all theſe circumſtances, the Scottiſh van began to retreat: The retreat ſoon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Iriſh archers. The panic of the van communicated itſelf to the main body, and paſſing thence to the rear, rendered the whole field a ſcene of confuſion, terror, flight, and conſternation. The Engliſh army perceived from the heights the condition of the Scots, and began the purſuit with loud ſhouts and acclamations, which added ſtill more to the diſmay of the

[c] Patten. Hollingſhed, p. 986.

vanquiſhed.

vanquiſhed. The horſe in particular, eager to revenge the affront, which they had received in the beginning of the day, did the moſt bloody execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the ſpace of five miles, the whole ground was ſtrowed with dead bodies. The prieſts above all, and the monks, received no quarter; and the Engliſh made ſport of ſlaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animoſity, had engaged in an enterpriſe ſo ill befitting their profeſſion. Few victories have been more deciſive, or gained with ſmaller loſs to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the Engliſh; and, according to the moſt moderate computation, there periſhed above ten thouſand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken priſoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood.

The queen-dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were ſcarcely able to collect ſuch a body of forces as could check the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. About the ſame time, the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the Weſt Marches, at the head of five thouſand men, and, after taking and plundering Annan, they ſpread devaſtation over all the neighbouring counties[f]. Had Somerſet proſecuted his advantages, he might have impoſed what terms he pleaſed on the Scottiſh nation: But he was impatient to return to England, where, he heard, ſome counſellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals againſt his authority. Having taken the caſtles of Hume, Dunglaſs, Eymouth, Faſtcaſtle, Roxborough, and ſome other ſmall places; and having received the ſubmiſſion of ſome counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, beſides deſtroying all the ſhipping along the coaſt, took Broughty in the Frith of Tay; and having fortified it, they there left

[f] Hollingſhed, p. 592.

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a garriſon. Arran deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerſet, having appointed Berwic for the place of conference, left Warwic with full powers to negociate: But no commiſſioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice, to gain time, till ſuccours ſhould arrive from France.

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4th Nov. THE protector, on his arrival in England, ſummoned a parliament: And being ſomewhat elated with his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to ſit on the throne, upon a ſtool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the ſame honours and privileges that had uſually been poſſeſſed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent, the king employed his diſpenſing power, by ſetting aſide the ſtatute of precedency, enacted during the former reign [z]. But if Somerſet gave offence by aſſuming too much ſtate, he deſerves great praiſe on account of the laws paſſed this ſeſſion, by which the rigour of former ſtatutes was much mitigated, and ſome ſecurity given to the freedom of the conſtitution. All laws were repealed, which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward III. [b]; all laws enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollardy or hereſy, together with the ſtatute of the ſix articles. None were to be accuſed for words, but within a month after they were ſpoken. By theſe repeals ſeveral of the moſt rigorous laws, that ever had paſſed in England, were annulled; and ſome dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was ſubjected to the penalty of burning. Only, there remained no preciſe ſtandard, by which that crime

A parliament.

z Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

b 3 Edw. vi. c. 12.

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could be defined or determined: A circumſtance, which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public ſecurity, according to the diſpoſition of the judges.

A REPEAL alſo paſſed of that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a ſtatute [i]. That other law likewiſe was mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul every ſtatute paſſed before the four and twentieth year of his age: He could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any paſt effects which had enſued from them [k].

IT was alſo enacted, that all who denied the king's ſupremacy, or aſſerted the pope's, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and ſuffer impriſonment during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence, ſhould incur the penalty of a *præmunire*; and for the third, be attainted of treaſon. But if any, after the firſt of March enſuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his eſtate or titles, particularly of his ſupremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treaſon. If any of the heirs of the crown ſhould uſurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of ſucceſſion, it was declared treaſon in them, their aiders and abettors. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable acts paſſed during this ſeſſion. The members in general diſcovered a very paſſive diſpoſition with regard to religion: Some few appeared zealous for the reformation: Others ſecretly harboured a ſtrong propenſity to the catholic faith: But the greater part appeared willing to take any impreſſion, which they ſhould receive from intereſt, authority, or the reigning faſhion [l].

THE convocation met at the ſame time with the parliament; and as it was found, that their debates were at

i 2 Edw. VI. c. 2. k Ibid. l Heylin, p. 48.

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1548. THE protector had aſſented to the repeal of that law, which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of ſtatutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or diſcretionary exerciſe of power, in iſſuing proclamations, which had ever been aſſumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to diſtinguiſh exactly from a full legiſlative power. He even continued to exert this authority in ſome particulars, which were then regarded as the moſt momentous. Orders were iſſued by council, that candles ſhould no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, aſhes on Aſh-wedneſday, palms on Palm-ſunday [n]. Theſe were ancient religious practices, now termed ſuperſtitions; though it is fortunate for mankind, when ſuperſtition happens to take a direction ſo innocent and inoffenſive. The ſevere diſpoſition, which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewiſe the council to aboliſh ſome gay and ſhowy ceremonies which belonged to the ancient religion [o].

Farther progreſs of the reformation.

AN order was alſo iſſued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: An innovation which was much deſired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almoſt to a total change

[m] Antiq. Britan. p. 339. vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55.

[n] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. Collier,

[o] Burnet, vol. ii.

of the eſtabliſhed religion [p]. An attempt had been made to ſeparate the uſe of images from their abuſe, the reverence from the worſhip of them; but the execution of this deſign was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private maſſes were aboliſhed by law, it became neceſſary to compoſe a new communion-ſervice; and the council went ſo far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confeſſion wholly indifferent [q]. This was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the moſt powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their ſpiritual guides an entire aſcendant over them. And it may juſtly be ſaid, that, though the prieſt's abſolution, which attends confeſſion, ſerves ſomewhat to eaſe weak minds from the immediate agonies of ſuperſtitious terror, it operates only by enforcing ſuperſtition itſelf, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapſe into the ſame diſorders.

The people were at that time extremely diſtracted by the oppoſite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally unable to judge of the reaſons advanced on either ſide, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church as of equal authority, a great confuſion and fluctuation reſulted from this uncertainty. The council had firſt endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by laying ſome reſtraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they impoſed a total ſilence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit [r]. By the nature of things, this reſtraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worſhip, its ſhews and exterior obſervances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. Collier, vol. ii. p. 242. Heylin, p. 55.
[q] Burnet, vol. ii. [r] Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

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were inclined to contract a ſtronger attachment to ſermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amuſement. The ancient religion, by giving its votaries ſomething to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: Sermons were delivered only in the principal churches, and at ſome particular faſts and feſtivals: And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abuſed, is ſo powerful an incitement to faction and ſedition, had much leſs ſcope and influence during thoſe ages.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE greater progreſs was made towards a reformation in England, the farther did the protector find himſelf from all proſpect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averſe to all alliance with a nation, which had ſo far departed from all ancient principles. Somerſet, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be ſtrongly garriſoned and fortified by lord Grey: He alſo erected ſome fortifications at Lauder: And he hoped, that theſe two places, together with Broughty and ſome ſmaller fortreſſes, which were in the hands of the Engliſh, would ſerve as a curb on Scotland; and would give him acceſs into the heart of the country.

ARRAN, being diſappointed in ſome attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the ſuccours expected from France for the recovery of theſe places; and they arrived at laſt in the Frith, to the number of ſix thouſand men; half of them Germans. They were commanded by Deſſé, and under him by Andelot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, and count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time ſo ſunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred Engliſh horſe were able to ravage the whole country without reſiſtance; and make inroads to the gates of the capital[z]: But on the appearance of the French ſuccours, they collected more courage; and having joined Deſſé with a conſider-

[z] Beſgué, Hiſt. of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549, p. 6.

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able reinforcement, they laid ſiege to Haddington [t]. This was an undertaking for which they were by themſelves totally unfit; and, even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of ſucceſs in ſtarving the garriſon. After ſome vain attempts to take the place by a regular ſiege, the blockade was formed, and the garriſon was repulſed with loſs in ſeveral ſallies which they made upon the beſiegers.

The hoſtile attempts, which the late king and the protector had made againſt Scotland, not being ſteady, regular, nor puſhed to the laſt extremity, had ſerved only to irritate the nation, and to inſpire them with the ſtrongeſt averſion to that union, which was courted in ſo violent a manner. Even thoſe who were inclined to the Engliſh alliance, were diſpleaſed to have it impoſed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley in particular ſaid pleaſantly, that he diſliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing [u]. The queen-dowager, finding theſe ſentiments to prevail, called a parliament, in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there propoſed, that the young queen, for her greater ſecurity, ſhould be ſent to France, and be committed to the cuſtody of that ancient ally. Some objected, that this meaſure was deſperate, allowed no reſource in caſe of miſcarriage, expoſed the Scots to be ſubjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient, by which they could conciliate the friendſhip of that powerful nation. It was anſwered, on the other hand, that the queen's preſence was the very cauſe of war with England; that that nation would deſiſt, when they found, that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by ſo high a mark of confidence, would take their ſovereign under his protection, and uſe

[t] Hollingſhed, p. 993. [u] Heylin, p. 46. Patten.

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his utmoſt efforts to defend the kingdom. Theſe arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully diſtributed among the nobles. The governor had a penſion conferred on him of twelve thouſand livres a year, received the title of duke of Chatelrault, and obtained for his ſon the command of a hundred men at arms [w]. And as the clergy dreaded the conſequence of the Engliſh alliance, they ſeconded this meaſure with all the zeal and induſtry which either principle or intereſt could inſpire. It was accordingly determined to ſend the queen to France; and what was underſtood to be the neceſſary conſequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Frith of Forth, ſet ſail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open ſea, he turned northwards, paſſed by the Orkneys, and came in on the weſt coaſt at Dunbarton: An extraordinary voyage for ſhips of that fabric [x]. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended by the lords Areſkine and Livingſtone, ſhe put to ſea, and after meeting with ſome tempeſtuous weather, arrived ſafely at Breſt, whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and ſoon after ſhe was betrothed to the dauphin.

Young queen of Scots ſent into France.

Somerset, preſſed by many difficulties at home, and deſpairing of ſucceſs in his enterprize againſt Scotland, was deſirous of compoſing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years' truce; but as they inſiſted on his reſtoring all the places which he had taken, the propoſal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortreſſes of Hume and Faſt-caſtle by ſurprize, and put the garriſons to the ſword: They repulſed, with loſs, the Engliſh, who, under the command of lord Seymour, made a deſcent, firſt in Fife, then at Montroſe: In the former action, James Stuart, natural bro-

[w] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

[x] Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

ther

ther to the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areſkine of Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a conſiderable body, to throw relief into Haddington; but theſe troops, falling into an ambuſcade, were almoſt wholly cut in pieces [y]. And though a ſmall body of two hundred men eſcaped all the vigilance of the French, and arrived ſafely in Haddington, with ſome ammunition and proviſions, the garriſon was reduced to ſuch difficulties, that the protector found it neceſſary to provide more effectually for their relief. He raiſed an army of eighteen thouſand men, and adding three thouſand Germans, who, on the diſſolution of the proteſtant alliance, had offered their ſervice to England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl of Shrewſbury [z]. D'Eſſé raiſed the blockade on the approach of the Engliſh; and with great difficulty made good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he poſted himſelf advantageouſly. Shrewſbury, who had loſt the opportunity of attacking him on his march, durſt not give him battle in his preſent ſituation; and contenting himſelf with the advantage already gained, of ſupplying Haddington, he retired into England.

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THOUGH the protection of France was of great conſequence to the Scots, in ſupporting them againſt the invaſions of England, they reaped ſtill more benefit from the diſtractions and diviſions, which had creeped into the councils of this latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high ſtations which they ſeverally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had riſen, had entertained the moſt violent jealouſy of each other; and they divided the whole court and kingdom, by their oppoſite cabals and pretenſions. Lord Seymour was a man of inſatiable ambition; arrogant, aſſuming, implacable; and though

Cabals of lord Seymour.

[y] Stowe, p. 595. Hollingſhed, p. 994. [z] Hayward, p. 291.

eſteemed

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eſteemed of ſuperior capacity to the protector, he poſſeſſed not to the ſame degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and addreſs, he had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her uſual prudence and decency, ſhe married him immediately upon the demiſe of the late king: Inſomuch that, had ſhe ſoon proved pregnant, it might have been doubtful to which huſband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance ſupported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the dutcheſs of Somerſet, who, uneaſy that the younger brother's wife ſhould have the precedency, employed all her credit with her huſband, which was too great, firſt to create, then to widen, the breach between the two brothers[a].

THE firſt ſymptoms of this miſunderſtanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerſet, remarked, that Seymour was forming ſeparate intrigues among the counſellors; was corrupting, by preſents, the king's ſervants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgences and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget repreſented to him the danger of this conduct; deſired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the ſudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him, that any diſſention between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of to effect the ruin of both. Finding his remonſtrances neglected, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerſet, and engaged him to leave the enterprize upon Scotland unfiniſhed, in order to guard againſt the attempts of his domeſtic enemies. In the enſuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared ſtill more dangerous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partizans, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He

[a] Hayward, p. 302. Heylin, p. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69.

repreſented

repreſented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom hath been kept ſeparate from that of governor of the king's perſon; and that the preſent union of theſe two important truſts conferred on Somerſet an authority, which could not ſafely be lodged in any ſubject [b]. The young king was even prevailed on to write a letter to the parliament, deſiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and that nobleman had formed a party in the two houſes, by which he hoped to effect his purpoſe. The deſign was diſcovered before its execution; and ſome common friends were ſent to remonſtrate with him; but had ſo little influence, that he threw out many menacing expreſſions, and raſhly threatened, that, if he were thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackeſt that ever ſat in England [c]. The council ſent for him, to anſwer for his conduct; but he refuſed to attend: They then began to threaten in their turn, and informed him, that the king's letter, inſtead of availing him any thing to the execution of his views, would be imputed to him as a criminal enterprize, and be conſtrued as a deſign to diſturb the government, by forming a ſeparate intereſt with a child and minor. They even let fall ſome menaces of ſending him to the Tower for his temerity; and the admiral, finding himſelf prevented in his deſign, was obliged to ſubmit, and to deſire a reconciliation with his brother.

THE mild and moderate temper of Somerſet made him willing to forget theſe enterprizes of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent ſpirit could not be ſo eaſily appeaſed. His ſpouſe, the queen-dowager, died in childbed; but ſo far from regarding this event as a check to his aſpiring views, he founded on it the ſcheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addreſſes to the lady Elizabeth, then in the ſixteenth year of her age; and

[b] Haynes, p. 82. 90. [c] Ibid. p. 75.

that

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that princeſs, whom even the hurry of buſineſs, and the purſuits of ambition, could not, in her more advanced years, diſengage entirely from the tender paſſions, ſeems to have liſtened to the inſinuations of a man, who poſſeſſed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair[e]. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from all hopes of ſucceſſion, if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded that he meant to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more raſh and more criminal. All the other meaſures of the admiral tended to confirm this ſuſpicion. He continued to attack, by preſents, the fidelity of thoſe who had more immediate acceſs to the king's perſon: He endeavoured to ſeduce the young prince into his intereſts: He found means of holding a private correſpondence with him: He openly decried his brother's adminiſtration; and aſſerted, that, by enliſting Germans, and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which might endanger the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promiſes and perſuaſion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had extended his intereſt all over England: He neglected not even the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and had computed, that he could, on occaſion, muſter an army of 10,000 men, compoſed of his ſervants, tenants, and retainers[f]: He had already provided arms for their uſe; and having engaged in his intereſts Sir John Sharington, a corrupt man, maſter of the Mint at Briſtol, he flattered himſelf that money would not be wanting. Somerſet was well apprized of all theſe alarming circumſtances, and endeavoured, by the moſt friendly expedients, by intreaty, reaſon, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him deſiſt from his dangerous counſels: But finding all endeavours

[e] Haynes, p. 95, 96. 102. 108.

[f] Ibid. p. 105, 106.

ineffectual,

ineffectual, he began to think of more ſevere remedies. The earl of Warwic was an ill inſtrument between the brothers; and had formed the deſign, by inflaming the quarrel, to raiſe his own fortune on the ruins of both. 1548.

Dudley, earl of Warwic.

DUDLEY, earl of Warwic, was the ſon of that Dudley, miniſter to Henry VII. who having, by rapine, extortion, and perverſion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been ſacrificed to popular animoſity, in the beginning of the ſubſequent reign. The late king, ſenſible of the iniquity, at leaſt illegality, of the ſentence, had afterwards reſtored young Dudley's blood, by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with abilities, induſtry, and activity, he had entruſted him with many important commands, and had ever found him ſucceſsful in his undertakings. He raiſed him to the dignity of viſcount Liſle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made ſtill farther progreſs during the minority; and having obtained the title of Earl of Warwic, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the chief rank among the protector's counſellors. The victory gained at Pinkey was much aſcribed to his courage and conduct; and he was univerſally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all theſe virtues were obſcured by ſtill greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an inſatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of juſtice: And as he found that lord Seymour, whoſe abilities and enterprizing ſpirit he chiefly dreaded, was involving himſelf in ruin by his raſh counſels, he was determined to puſh him on the precipice, and thereby remove the chief obſtacle to his own projected greatneſs.

WHEN Somerſet found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's ſeditious, not to ſay rebellious ſchemes, he was the more eaſily perſuaded by Warwic to employ the extent of royal authority againſt him; and, after

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after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy-counsellors being sent to examine them, made a report, that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to desist from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and, renouncing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiances, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles[5]; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestibly proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by the appearance: He boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories, by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarcely capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that though, on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those trea-

[5] Burnet, vol. ii. Col. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 12.

sonable

ſonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his actual guilt ſeems to have conſiſted in ſome unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which pirates were protected, and illegal impoſitions laid upon the merchants. 1548.

But the adminiſtration had, at that time, an eaſy inſtrument of vengeance, to wit, the Parliament; and needed not to give themſelves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the perſons whom they proſecuted, or the evidence which could be produced againſt them. A ſeſſion of parliament being held, it was reſolved to proceed againſt Seymour by bill of attainder; and the young king being induced, after much ſolicitation, to give his conſent to it, a conſiderable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was firſt laid before the upper houſe; and ſeveral peers, riſing up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words or actions. Theſe narratives were received as undoubted evidence; and though the priſoner had formerly engaged many friends and partizans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move that he might be heard in his defence, that the teſtimony againſt him ſhould be delivered in a legal manner, and that he ſhould be confronted with the witneſſes. A little more ſcruple was made in the houſe of commons: There were even ſome members who objected againſt the whole method of proceeding by bill of attainder paſſed in abſence; and inſiſted that a formal trial ſhould be given to every man before his condemnation. But when a meſſage was ſent by the king, enjoining the houſe to proceed, and offering that the ſame narratives ſhould be laid before them which had ſatisfied the peers, they were eaſily prevailed on to acquieſce[h]. The bill paſſed in a full houſe. Near four hundred voted for it; not above nine or ten againſt it[i]. The ſen-

A parliament. 4th Nov.

1549. Attainder of lord Seymour.

March 20.

[h] 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

[i] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99.

tence

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1548. His execution.

tence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on Tower-hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame, on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seem chiefly to have been levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitious, enterprizing character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have endangered the public tranquillity, the prudence of foreseeing evils at such a distance was deemed too great, and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said, that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been enured; for here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs; which were now the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to compose a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: They retained as much of the ancient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: They indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: And they flattered themselves, that they had established a service, in which every denomination of Christians might, without scruple, concur. The mass had always been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended, in some few particulars, to encourage private judgment in the laity, the transla-

tion

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tion of the liturgy, as well as of the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, ſeemed more conformable to the genius of their ſect; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to ſaints, and of ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old maſs and the new liturgy. The parliament eſtabliſhed this form of worſhip in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be obſerved in all the rites and ceremonies[k].

THERE was another material act which paſſed this ſeſſion. The former canons had eſtabliſhed the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice is uſually aſcribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought that the eccleſiaſtics would be more devoted to their ſpiritual head, and leſs dependent on the civil magiſtrate, when freed from the powerful tye of wives and children; yet was this inſtitution much forwarded by the principles of ſuperſtition inherent in human nature. Theſe principles had rendered the panegyrics on an inviolate chaſtity ſo frequent among the ancient fathers, long before the eſtabliſhment of celibacy. And even this parliament, though they enacted a law, permitting the marriage of prieſts, yet confeſs, in the preamble, "that it were better for "prieſts and the miniſters of the church to live chaſte "and without marriage, and it were much to be wiſhed "they would of themſelves abſtain." The inconveniencies which had ariſen from the compelling of chaſtity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reaſons aſſigned for indulging a liberty in this particular[l]. The ideas of penance alſo were ſo much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament paſſed, forbidding the uſe of fleſh-meat during Lent and other times of abſtinence[m].

[k] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1. [l] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21.
[m] 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 19. See note [Q] at the end of the volume.

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THE principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service and by the abolition of many ancient rites, still retained some hold on the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people[a]. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might, in part, be the ground of this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests likewise were much inclined to favour an opinion, which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary, and, as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: And the catholic preachers in England, when restrained in all other particulars, could not forbear, on every occasion, inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English catholics, that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, but not the council, during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the

a Burnet, vol. ii. cap. 204.

Tower,

Tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure.

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These severities, being exercised on men possessed of office and authority, seemed, in that age, a necessary policy, in order to enforce a uniformity in public worship and discipline: But there were other instances of persecution, derived from no origin but the bigotry of theologians; a malady which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they would suffer no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer[q]. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them, if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: Or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: And in the execution of this charge, they were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were over-ruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent,

[q] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181.

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who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her. Her doctrine was, "That "Christ was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whose "flesh, being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, "and born in sin; and consequently, he could take none "of it: But the word, by the consent of the inward man "of the virgin, was made flesh[p]." This opinion, it would seem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for delivering the woman to the flames for maintaining it. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and he said, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostles creed: These latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner, as inferior magistrates were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that, if any wrong were done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age[q].

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.
[q] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

THESE

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THESE rigorous methods of proceeding ſoon brought the whole nation to a conformity, ſeeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the maſs, and refuſed to admit the eſtabliſhed modes of worſhip. When preſſed and menaced on this head, ſhe applied to the emperor; who, uſing his intereſt with Sir Philip Hobby, the Engliſh ambaſſador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council[r].

[r] Heylin, p. 102.

CHAP. XXXV.

Diſcontents of the people——Inſurrections——Conduct of the war with Scotland——with France——Factions in the council——Conſpiracy againſt Somerſet——Somerſet reſigns the protectorſhip——A parliament——Peace with France and Scotland——Boulogne ſurrendered——Perſecution of Gardiner——Warwic created duke of Northumberland——His ambition——Trial of Somerſet——His execution——A parliament——A new parliament——Succeſſion changed——The king's ſickneſs——and death.

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1549. Diſcontents of the people.

THERE is no abuſe ſo great in civil ſociety, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial conſequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loſs of theſe advantages is always felt very ſenſibly, while the benefit reſulting from the change, is the ſlow effect of time, and is ſeldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any inſtitution can be imagined leſs favourable, in the main, to the intereſts of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having ceaſed by the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, always reſiding in their convents, in the centre of their eſtates, ſpent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a ſure reſource to the poor and indigent; and though their hoſpitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleneſs, and prevented the encreaſe of public riches, yet did it provide, to many, a

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relief from the extreme preſſures of want and neceſſity. It is alſo obſervable, that, as the friars were limited, by the rules of their inſtitution, to a certain mode of living, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they ſtill are in Roman catholic countries, the beſt and moſt indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leaſes at an under-value, and to receive, in return, a large preſent from the tenant; in the ſame manner as is ſtill practiſed by the biſhops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were diſtributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: The rents of farms were raiſed, while the tenants found not the ſame facility in diſpoſing of the produce; the money was often ſpent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a diſtance, were expoſed to oppreſſion from their new maſters, or to the ſtill greater rapacity of the ſtewards.

These grievances of the common people were at that time heightened by other cauſes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England theſe arts had made greater progreſs than the knowledge of agriculture; a profeſſion, which, of all mechanical employments, requires the moſt reflection and experience. A great demand aroſe for wool both abroad and at home: Paſturage was found more profitable than unſkilful tillage: Whole eſtates were laid waſte by inclo-ſures: The tenants, regarded as a uſeleſs burden, were expelled their habitations: Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to miſery: And a decay of people, as well as a diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom[a]. This grievance was now of an old

[a] Strype, vol. ii. Repoſitory Q.

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date; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, obſerves in his Utopia, that a ſheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

THE general encreaſe alſo of gold and ſilver in Europe, after the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, had a tendency to inflame theſe complaints. The growing demand in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could eaſily be tranſported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not ſo eaſily change their habitation, ſtill remained nearly at the ancient rates; and the poor complained that they could no longer gain a ſubſiſtence by their induſtry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this encreaſe of induſtry was at laſt the effect of the preſent ſituation, and an effect beneficial to ſociety, yet was it difficult for the people to ſhake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing but neceſſity could compel them to ſuch an exertion of their faculties.

IT muſt alſo be remarked, that the profuſion of Henry VIII. had reduced him, notwithſtanding his rapacity, to ſuch difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a preſent neceſſity, by the pernicious expedient of debaſing the coin; and the wars, in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry ſtill farther the ſame abuſe. The uſual conſequences enſued: The good ſpecie was hoarded or exported; baſe metal was coined at home, or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchaſe commodities at the uſual rates; a univerſal diffidence and ſtagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

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THE protector, who loved popularity, and pitied the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to redress them. He appointed a commission for making enquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day appointed. The populace, meeting with such countenance from government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders, but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages[t]. As this commission was disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatised it as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but fought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert: Those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Glocester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentler expedients; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences.

Insurrections.

THE commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual complaints against inclosures and against oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Sampford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontent a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of the subject, in the present emergency, made the insurrection immediately appear

[t] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 172.

formidable.

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formidable. In other counties, the gentry had kept closely united with government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of ten thousand. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to negociate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed[v]. The council, to whom Russel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; commanded the rebels to disperse, and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy[w]. The citizens of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William Herbert and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon them both in the action and pursuit[x], and took

[v] Hayward, p. 292. Hollingshed, p. 1003. Fox, vol. ii. p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 286. [w] Heylin, p. 76. [x] Stowe's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295.

many

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many prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law[7]: The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds, with his beads at his girdle[8].

The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by complaints against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand, they grew insolent, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the ancient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government over them, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. Having taken possession of Mousehold-hill near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse, in an action, where Lord Sheffield was killed[9]. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: He therefore sent the earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of encreasing his reputation and character. Warwic, having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle; nine of his

[7] Hayward, p. 295, 296. [8] Heylin, p. 76. Hollingshed, p. 1026.
[9] Stowe, p. 597. Hollingshed, p. 1030—34. Strype, vol. ii. p. 174.

followers

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followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, learning the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector [b].

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Conduct of the war with Scotland;

But though the insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, and no traces of them seemed to remain, they were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwic, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprize; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortress of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres was enabled to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was found at last very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: The place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort any provisions thither: And as the plague had broken out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwic; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the east marches, executed the orders.

with France.

The king of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry VIII.

[b] Heyward, p. 297, 298, 299.

had

had conquered from France. On other pretences, he assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulonnois, took the castles of Sellaque, Blackness, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions[c]. He endeavoured to surprize Boulenberg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper, which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris[d]. He left the command of the army to Gaspar de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, so famous afterwards by the name of admiral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this general engaged him to make, during the winter, several attempts against the place; but they all proved unsuccessful. CHAP. XXXV. 1549.

STROZZI, who commanded the French fleet and galleys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but meeting there with an English fleet, he commenced an action, which seems not to have been decisive, since the historians of the two nations differ in their account of the event[e].

As soon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor; and he sent over secretary Paget to Brussels, where Charles then kept court, in order to assist Sir Philip Hobby, the resident ambassador, in this negociation. But that prince had formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of champion for the catholic

[c] Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6. [d] Hayward, p. 300. [e] Thuan. King Edward's Journal, Stowe, p. 597.

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religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into strict confederacy with a nation which had broken off all connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore declined the advances of friendship from England; and eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact account is preserved of this negociation in a letter of Hobby's; and it is remarkable that the emperor, in a conversation with the English ministers, asserted that the prerogatives of a king of England were more extensive than those of a king of France[f]. Burnet, who preserves this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one objection, which the Scots made to marrying their queen with Edward, was, that all their privileges would be swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of England[g].

Somerset, despairing of assistance from the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; and besides that he was not in a condition to maintain such ruinous wars, he thought that there no longer remained any object of hostility. The Scots had sent away their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclined, complete the marriage contracted with Edward: And as Henry VIII. had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small moment to anticipate, a few years, the execution of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who, seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue, fatal to the authority of the protector.

[f] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 132. 175. [g] Idem, p. 133.

After

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1549. Factions in the council.

AFTER Somerset obtained the patent, investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counsellors; and being elated with his high dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought that every one ought, in every thing, to yield to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him, were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will received marks of anger or contempt[h]; and while he shewed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not, in any respect, proportioned to his ambition. Warwic, more subtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery imposed on them by the protector.

THE malcontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference which Somerset seemed to have given to the people; and as they ascribed all the insults to which they had been lately exposed, to his procrastination, and to the countenance shown to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his own house for the relief of the people[i], and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be deemed illegal, if any exertion of prerogative, at that time, could with certainty deserve that appellation. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more impolitic, because it disgusted the nobles, the surest support of monarchical authority.

[h] Strype, vol. ii. p. 182. [i] Ibid. p. 183.

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But though Somerſet courted the people, the intereſt which he had formed with them was in no degree anſwerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aſpect: The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, was repreſented in invidious colours: The great eſtate, which he had ſuddenly acquired at the expence of the church and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious; and the palace, which he was building in the Strand, ſerved, by its magnificence, and ſtill more by other circumſtances which attended it, to expoſe him to the cenſure of the public. The pariſh church of St. Mary, with three biſhops' houſes, was pulled down, in order to furniſh ground and materials for this ſtructure: Not content with that ſacrilege, an attempt was made to demoliſh St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, and to employ the ſtones to the ſame purpoſe; but the pariſhioners roſe in a tumult, and chaced away the protector's tradeſmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloiſter and charnel-houſe belonging to it; and theſe edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jeruſalem, were made uſe of to raiſe his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people was, that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones, being carried away, were buried in unconſecrated ground[k].

6th Octob.

All theſe imprudences were remarked by Somerſet's enemies, who reſolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwic, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-houſe; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole

Conſpiracy againſt Somerſet.

[k] Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303.

power

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power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they repreſented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of the preſent meaſures, and requiring their aſſiſtance: They ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders which they might receive from the duke of Somerſet. They laid the ſame injunctions on the lieutenant of the Tower, who expreſſed his reſolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and chief juſtice Montague, joined the malcontent counſellors; and every thing bore a bad aſpect for the protector's authority. Secretary Petre, whom he had ſent to treat with the council, rather choſe to remain with them: The common council of the city being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new meaſures, and their reſolution of ſupporting them [1].

As ſoon as the protector heard of the defection of the counſellors, he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then reſided, to the caſtle of Windſor; and, arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed reſolute to defend himſelf againſt all his enemies. But finding, that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not riſe at his ſummons, that the City and Tower had declared againſt him, that even his beſt friends had deſerted him, he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveneſs. No ſooner was this deſpondency known, than lord Ruſſel, Sir John Baker, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and three counſellors more, who had hitherto remained neuters, joined the party of Warwic, whom every

[1] Stowe, p. 597, 598. Hollingſhed, p. 1057.

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one now regarded as maſter. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, to the ſame purpoſe; and they made addreſſes to the king, in which, after the humbleſt proteſtations of duty and ſubmiſſion, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father, for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had choſen the duke of Somerſet protector, under the expreſs condition, that he ſhould guide himſelf by their advice and direction; that he had uſurped the whole authority, and had neglected, and even in every thing oppoſed, their counſel; that he had proceeded to that height of preſumption, as to levy forces againſt them, and place theſe forces about his majeſty's perſon: They therefore begged, that they might be admitted to his royal preſence; that he would be pleaſed to reſtore them to his confidence, and that Somerſet's ſervants might be diſmiſſed. Their requeſt was complied with: Somerſet capitulated only for gentle treatment, which was promiſed him. He was, however, ſent to the Tower [m], with ſome of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Articles of indictment were exhibited againſt him [n]; of which the chief, at leaſt the beſt founded, is his uſurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole adminiſtration of affairs. The clauſe of his patent, which inveſted him with abſolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly becauſe, according to the ſentiments of thoſe times, that power was, in ſome degree, involved in the very idea of regal authority.

Somerſet reſigns the protectorſhip.

THE catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had aſcribed all the late innovations

[m] Stowe, p. 600. [n] Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46. Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. Hollingſhed, p. 1059.

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to Somerſet's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwic, who now bore chief ſway in the council, was entirely indifferent with regard to all theſe points of controverſy; and finding that the principles of the reformation had ſunk deeper into Edward's mind than to be eaſily eradicated, he was determined to comply with the young prince's inclinations, and not to hazard his new acquired power by any dangerous enterprize. He took care very early to expreſs his intentions of ſupporting the reformation; and he threw ſuch diſcouragements on Southampton, who ſtood at the head of the Romaniſts, and whom he conſidered as a dangerous rival, that the high-ſpirited nobleman retired from the council, and ſoon after died from vexation and diſappointment. The other counſellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Ruſſel was created earl of Bedford: The marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, beſides the office of chamberlain of the houſehold, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torne from the ſee of London[o]. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but compoſed chiefly of members who had formerly been appointed by Somerſet, and who derived their ſeat from an authority which was now declared uſurped and illegal. But ſuch niceties were, during that age, little underſtood, and ſtill leſs regarded, in England.

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A SESSION of parliament was held; and as it was the uſual maxim of that aſſembly to acquieſce in every adminiſtration which was eſtabliſhed, the council dreaded no oppoſition from that quarter, and had more reaſon to look

4th Nov. A parliament.

[o] Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226.

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for a corroboration of their authority. Somerſet had been prevailed on to confeſs, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge againſt him; and he imputed theſe miſdemeanors to his own raſhneſs, folly, and indiſcretion, not to any malignity of intention [p]. He even ſubſcribed this confeſſion; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after ſending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be genuine, paſſed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thouſand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treaſurer in his place, and Warwic earl marſhal. The proſecution againſt him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king: He recovered his liberty: And Warwic, thinking that he was now ſufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much leſſened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own ſon, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerſet [q].

DURING this ſeſſion a ſevere law was paſſed againſt riots [r]. It was enacted, that if any, to the number of twelve perſons, ſhould meet together for any matter of ſtate, and being required by a lawful magiſtrate, ſhould not diſperſe, it ſhould be treaſon; and if any broke hedges, or violently pulled up pales about incloſures, without lawful authority, it ſhould be felony: Any attempt to kill a privy councellor was ſubjected to the ſame penalty. The biſhops had made an application, complaining, that they were deprived of all their power, by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the preſent ſuſpenſion of the canon law; that they could ſummon no offender before them, puniſh no vice, or exert the diſ-

[p] Heylin, p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p. 603.
[q] Hayward, p. 309. [r] 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

cipline

cipline of the church: From which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and encreaſe. The deſign of ſome was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: But others thought, that ſuch an authority committed to the biſhops, would prove more oppreſſive than confeſſion, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the Romiſh ſuperſtition. The parliament, for the preſent, contented themſelves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commiſſioners to compile a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit truſt did they repoſe in the crown; without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by theſe canons [s]. The king did not live to affix the royal ſanction to the new canons. Sir John Sharington, whoſe crimes and malverſations had appeared ſo egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reverſal of his attainder [t]. This man ſought favour with the more zealous reformers; and biſhop Latimer affirmed, that, though formerly he had been a moſt notorious knave, he was now ſo penitent, that he had become a very honeſt man.

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When Warwic and the council of regency began to exerciſe their power, they found themſelves involved in the ſame difficulties that had embarraſſed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be ſupported by an exhauſted exchequer; ſeemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object, which even the greateſt and moſt uninterrupted ſucceſs could attain. The project of peace, entertained by Somerſet, had ſerved them as a pretence for clamour againſt his adminiſtration; yet, after ſending Sir

1550. Peace with France and Scotland.

[s] 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 2. [t] Ibid. c. 13.

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Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitleſs effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne, they found themſelves obliged to liſten to the advances which Henry made them, by the canal of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, Sir John Maſon, Paget, and Petre, were ſent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negociate. The French king abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of penſions; and ſaid, that he never would conſent to render himſelf tributary to any prince: But he offered a ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: The Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore Lauder and Douglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth[u]. No ſooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a cloſe alliance with that kingdom; and Henry willingly embraced a propoſal ſo ſuitable both to his intereſts and his inclinations. An agreement, ſome time after, was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negociation, fully ſettled[w]; But this project never took effect.

Boulogne ſurrendered, 24th March.

THE intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent perſecutor of the proteſtants, was nowiſe acceptable to that party in England: But in all other reſpects, the council was ſteady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws againſt the Romaniſts. Several prelates were ſtill addicted to that communion;

[u] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 148. Hayward, 310, 311, 312. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 211. [w] Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 293.

and

and though they made ſome compliances, in order to ſave their biſhoprics, they retarded, as much as they ſafely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to ſuch incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A reſolution was therefore taken to ſeek pretences for depriving thoſe prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more eaſy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commiſſions, in which it was declared, that they held their ſees during the king's pleaſure only. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, in order to ſtrike a terror into the reſt. The method of proceeding againſt him was violent, and had ſcarcely any colour of law or juſtice. Injunctions had been given him to inculcate, in a ſermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and becauſe he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into priſon, and had been there detained during two years, without being accuſed of any crime, except diſobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerſet, ſecretary Petre, and ſome others of the council, were now ſent, in order to try his temper, and endeavoured to find ſome grounds for depriving him: He profeſſed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of ſupporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the diſpoſition which they expected or deſired [x]. A new deputation was therefore ſent, who carried him ſeveral articles to ſubſcribe. He was required to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and to confeſs the juſtice of his confinement: He was likewiſe to own, that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the book of common-prayer was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the law of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and

[x] Heylin, p. 99.

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1550. that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, government, or doctrine. The biſhop was willing to ſet his hand to all the articles except the firſt: He maintained his conduct to have been inoffenſive; and declared that he would not own himſelf guilty of faults which he had never committed [y].

The council, finding that he had gone ſuch lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and ſending him new articles to ſubſcribe. A liſt was ſelected of ſuch points as they thought would be the hardeſt of digeſtion; and, not content with this rigour, they alſo inſiſted on his ſubmiſſion, and his acknowledgment of paſt errors. To make this ſubſcription more mortifying, they demanded a promiſe, that he would recommend and publiſh all theſe articles from the pulpit: But Gardiner, who ſaw that they intended either to ruin or diſhonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliance: He ſtill maintained his innocence; deſired a fair trial; and refuſed to ſubſcribe more articles, till he ſhould recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his biſhopric was put under ſequeſtration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than before, a commiſſion was appointed to try, or, more properly ſpeaking, to condemn him. The commiſſioners were, the primate, the biſhops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, ſecretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and ſome other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commiſſion, which was not founded on any ſtatute or precedent; and he appealed from the commiſſioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: Sentence was pronounced againſt him: He was deprived of his biſhopric, and committed to cloſe cuſtody: His books and papers

[y] Collier, vol. ii. p. 305, from the council books. Heylin, p. 99.

were

were seized; he was secluded from all company; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages [a]. CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

GARDINER, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: But the council, unwilling to make use of a concession which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop here. Day, bishop of Chichester, Heathe of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Sampson of Coventry, though they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers [a].

THESE plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council, for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher [b]. Many of these books were plaited with gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great havoc was likewise made on the libraries at Oxford. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: The volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: Those of literature were condemned as useless: Those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy [c]. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: They

[a] Fox, vol. ii. p. 734, & seq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier.
[a] Goodwin de præsul. Angel. Heylin, p. 100. [b] Collier, vol. ii. p. 307, from the council book. [c] Wood, hist. & antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272.

were

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were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwic and his associates.

THOUGH every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during some time, connived at; but, at last, her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkley, were thrown into prison[e]; and remonstrances were made to the princess herself on account of her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her, that her religious faith was very ill-grounded. They asked her, what warrant there was in Scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other ancient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories[f]. The lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: She only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: And as for protestant books, she thanked God, that, as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured to make an escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented[g]. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience were refused her; But though the council, sensible that the kingdom was in no condition to suport, with honour, such a war, was desirous to comply; they

[e] Strype, vol. ii. p 249.
[f] Fox, vol. ii. Collier, Burnet.
[g] Hayward, p. 315.

found great difficulty to overcome the ſcruples of the young king. He had been educated in ſuch a violent abhorrence of the maſs and other popiſh rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he ſhould participate, he thought, in the ſin, if he allowed its commiſſion: And when at laſt the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet prevailed ſomewhat over his oppoſition, he burſt into tears; lamenting his ſiſter's obſtinacy, and bewailing his own hard fate, that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſuch an abominable mode of worſhip.

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THE great object, at this time, of antipathy among the proteſtant ſects, was popery, or, more properly ſpeaking, the papiſts. Theſe they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and deſtroy its partizans by fire and ſword: They had not as yet had leiſure to attend to the other minute differences among themſelves, which afterwards became the object of ſuch furious quarrels and animoſities, and threw the whole kingdom into combuſtion. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in thoſe days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take ſhelter in England, from the proſecutions which the emperor exerciſed in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-laſco, a Poliſh nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, ſettled, during ſome time, at Embden in Eaſt-Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreſeeing the perſecutions which enſued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as induſtrious, uſeful people, and deſired to invite over others of the ſame character, not only gave them the church of Auguſtine friars for the exerciſe of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, conſiſting of a ſuperintendant and four aſ-

ſiſting

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ſifting miniſters. This eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in ſome rites and ceremonies [h].

THESE differences among the proteſtants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who inſiſted, that the moment men departed from the authority of the church, they loſt all criterion of truth and falſehood in matters of religion, and muſt be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every ſect of proteſtants afforded them the ſame topic of reaſoning. The book of Common Prayer ſuffered in England a new reviſal, and ſome rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted [i]. The ſpeculative doctrines, or the metaphyſics of the religion, were alſo reduced to forty-two articles. Theſe were intended to obviate farther diviſions and variations; and the compiling of them had been poſtponed till the eſtabliſhment of the liturgy, which was juſtly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is aſſerted in this confeſſion of faith; and care is alſo taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, how virtuous ſoever, can eſcape an endleſs ſtate of the moſt exquiſite miſery, but alſo that every one who preſumes to maintain, that any pagan can poſſibly be ſaved, is himſelf expoſed to the penalty of eternal perdition [k].

THE theological zeal of the council, though ſeemingly fervent, went not ſo far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which ſeem to have ever been uppermoſt in their thoughts: They even found leiſure to attend to the public intereſt; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was, at that time, very little the object of general ſtudy or attention. The trade of England had anciently been carried on altogether by foreigners,

h Mem. Cranm. p. 234.
i Mem. Cranm. p 289.
k Article xv.ii.

chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanſe-towns, or Eaſterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage theſe merchants to ſettle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry III. had obtained a patent, were endowed with privileges, and were exempted from ſeveral heavy duties paid by other aliens. So ignorant were the Engliſh of commerce, that this company, uſually denominated the merchants of the Stil-yard, engroſſed, even down to the reign of Edward, almoſt the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the ſhipping of their own country, the navigation of England was alſo in a very languiſhing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council, to ſeek pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put them nearly on an equal footing with Engliſhmen in the duties which they paid; and as ſuch patents were, during that age, granted by the abſolute power of the king, men were the leſs ſurprized to find them revoked by the ſame authority. Several remonſtrances were made againſt this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanſe-towns; but the council perſevered in their reſolution, and the good effects of it ſoon became viſible to the nation. The Engliſh merchants, by their very ſituation, as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchaſe of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though theſe advantages had not hitherto been ſufficient to rouze their induſtry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: But when aliens, duty was alſo impoſed upon all foreigners indiſcriminately, the Engliſh were tempted to enter into commerce; and a ſpirit of induſtry began to appear in the kingdom[1].

About the ſame time a treaty was made with Guſtavus Ericſon, king of Sweden, by which it was ſtipulated, that, if he ſent bullion into England, he might export

[1] Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 295.

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Engliſh commodities without paying cuſtom; that he ſhould carry bullion to no other prince; that if he ſent ozimus, ſteel, copper, &c. he ſhould pay cuſtom for Engliſh commodities as an Engliſhman; and that if he ſent other merchandize, he ſhould have free intercourſe, paying cuſtom as a ſtranger[m]. The bullion ſent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, ſet the mint to work: Good ſpecie was coined: And much of the baſe metal formerly iſſued was recalled: A circumſtance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

Warwic created duke of Northumberland.

But all theſe ſchemes for promoting induſtry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domeſtic convulſions, ariſing from the ambition of Warwic. That nobleman, not contented with the ſtation which he had attained, carried farther his pretenſions, and had gained partizans, who were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every enterprize. The laſt earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the ſhare which he had in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwic now procured to himſelf a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, which lay chiefly in the North, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of Duke of Northumberland. His friend, Paulet, lord St. John, the treaſurer, was created, firſt, earl of Wiltſhire, then marquis of Wincheſter: Sir William Herbert obtained the title of Earl of Pembroke.

His ambition.

But the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all encreaſe of poſſeſſions and titles, either to himſelf or his partizans, as ſteps only to farther acquiſitions. Finding that Somerſet, though degraded from his dignity, and even leſſened in the public opinion by his ſpiritleſs con-

[m] Heylin, p. 209.

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duct, ſtill enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obſtacle to the attainment of his hopes. The alliance which had been contracted between the families had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compaſs with more certainty the deſtruction of his rival. He ſecretly gained many of the friends and ſervants of that unhappy nobleman: He ſometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; ſometimes provoked him by ill uſage. The unguarded Somerſet often broke out into menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland: At other times he formed raſh projects, which he immediately abandoned: His treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every paſſionate word which dropped from him: They revealed the ſchemes which they themſelves had firſt ſuggeſted[n]: And Northumberland, thinking that the proper ſeaſon was now come, began to act in an open manner againſt him. CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

In one night, the duke of Somerſet, lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arreſted, and committed to cuſtody. Next day the dutcheſs of Somerſet, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Banniſter, and others, were thrown into priſon. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a ſpy upon Somerſet, accuſed him of having formed a deſign to raiſe an inſurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'armes on a muſter-day, to ſecure the Tower, and to raiſe a rebellion in London: But, what was the only probable accuſation, he aſſerted, that Somerſet had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's teſtimony with 16th Octob.

[n] Heylin, p. 112.

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1551. regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conſpiracy had been formed, or means prepared for its execution. Hammond confeſſed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Trial of Somerſet. SOMERSET was brought to his trial before the marquis of Wincheſter, created high ſteward. Twenty-ſeven peers compoſed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency ſhould have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerſet was accuſed of high treaſon on account of the projected inſurrections, and of felony in laying a deſign to murder privy-counſellors.

WE have a very imperfect account of all ſtate trials during that age, which is a ſenſible defect in our hiſtory: but it appears that ſome more regularity was obſerved in the management of this proſecution than had
1ſt Decemb. uſually been employed in like caſes. The witneſſes were at leaſt examined by the privy-council; and though they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the priſoner (circumſtances required by the ſtrict principles of equity), their depoſitions were given in to the jury. The proof ſeems to have been lame with regard to the treaſonable part of the charge; and Somerſet's defence was ſo ſatisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: The intention alone of aſſaulting the privy-councillors was ſupported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The priſoner himſelf confeſſed that he had expreſſed his intention of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any reſolution on that head: And when he received ſentence, he aſked pardon of thoſe peers for the deſigns which he had hearkened to againſt them. The people, by whom Somerſet was beloved, hearing the

first part of his sentence, by which he was acquitted from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: But their satisfaction was suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to death for felony[o]. CHAP. XXXV. 1551.

CARR had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness, that they entertained, to the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon[p]. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset indeed, though many actions of his life were exceptionable, seems, in general, to have merited a better fate; and the faults, which he committed, were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness, he was ill-fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences, to which that age was so much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned, and executed: Great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was, on some pretence, tried in the star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loss of 1552. His execution. 22d Jan.

[o] Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606. Hollingshed, p. 1067.
[p] Hayward, p. 324, 325.

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his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to ſhare that honour[q]. Lord Rich, chancellor, was alſo compelled to reſign his office, on the diſcovery of ſome marks of friendſhip, which he had ſhown to Somerſet.

22d Jan. A parliament.

THE day after the execution of Somerſet, a ſeſſion of parliament was held, in which farther advances were made towards the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. The new liturgy was authoriſed; and penalties were enacted againſt all thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip[r]. To uſe the maſs had already been prohibited under ſevere penalties; ſo that the reformers, it appears, whatever ſcope they had given to their own private judgment, in diſputing the tenets of the ancient religion, were reſolved not to allow the ſame privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was, at that time, equally unknown to all ſects and parties. To diſſent from the religion of the magiſtrate, was univerſally conceived to be as criminal as to queſtion his title, or rebel againſt his authority.

A LAW was enacted againſt uſury; that is, againſt taking any intereſt for money[s]. This act was the remains of ancient ſuperſtition; but being found extremely iniquitous in itſelf, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of intereſt, notwithſtanding the law, was at this time 14 per cent[t].

A BILL was introduced by the miniſtry into the houſe of lords, renewing thoſe rigorous ſtatutes of treaſon, which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high ſtation, ſtood moſt expoſed to theſe tempeſts of ſtate, yet had they ſo little

q Stowe, p. 608. r 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 1. s Ibid. c. 20.
t Hayward, p. 318.

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regard to public ſecurity, or even to their own true intereſt, that they paſſed the bill with only one diſſenting voice[u]. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that paſſed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whoever ſhould call the king or any of his heirs, named in the ſtatute of the 35th of the laſt reign, heretic, ſchiſmatic, tyrant, infidel, or uſurper of the crown, ſhould forfeit, for the firſt offence, their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond, ſhould incur a *præmunire*; for the third, ſhould be attainted for treaſon. But if any ſhould unadviſedly utter ſuch a ſlander in writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving, he was, for the firſt offence, to be held a traitor[w]. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were profeſſedly of different religions; and religions, which threw on each other the imputation of hereſy, ſchiſm, idolatry, profaneneſs, blaſphemy, wickedneſs, and all the oprobrious epithets that religious zeal has invented. It was almoſt impoſſible, therefore, for the people, if they ſpoke at all on theſe ſubjects, not to fall into the crime, ſo ſeverely puniſhed by the ſtatute; and the jealouſy of the commons for liberty, though it led them to reject the bill of treaſons, ſent to them by the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-ſighted.

The commons annexed to this bill a clauſe which was of more importance than the bill itſelf, that no one ſhould be convicted of any kind of treaſon, unleſs the crime were proved by the oaths of two witneſſes, confronted with the priſoner. The lords, for ſome time, ſcrupled to paſs this clauſe, though conformable to the moſt obvious principles of equity. But the members of that houſe truſted for protection to their preſent perſonal

[u] Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 290.
[w] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

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intereſt and power, and neglected the nobleſt and moſt permanent ſecurity, that of laws.

THE houſe of peers paſſed a bill, whoſe object was making a proviſion for the poor; but the commons, not chuſing that a money-bill ſhould begin in the upper houſe, framed a new act to the ſame purpoſe. By this act, the church-wardens were impowered to collect charitable contributions; and if any refuſed to give, or diſſuaded others from that charity, the biſhop of the dioceſe was impowered to proceed againſt them. Such large diſcretionary powers, entruſted to the prelates, ſeem as proper an object of jealouſy as the authority aſſumed by the peers[x].

THERE was another occaſion, in which the parliament repoſed an unuſual confidence in the biſhops. They impowered them to proceed againſt ſuch as neglected the Sundays and Holidays[y]. But theſe were unguarded conceſſions granted to the church: The general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the eccleſiaſtics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property: Many clergymen, about this time, were obliged for a ſubſiſtence to turn carpenters or taylors, and ſome kept alehouſes[z]. The biſhops themſelves were generally reduced to poverty, and held both their revenues and ſpiritual office by a very precarious and uncertain tenure.

TONSTAL, biſhop of Durham, was one of the moſt eminent prelates of that age, ſtill leſs for the dignity of his ſee, than for his own perſonal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had oppoſed, by his vote and authority, all innovations in religion; but as ſoon as they were enacted, he had always ſubmitted, and had conformed to every theological ſyſtem which had been eſtabliſhed. His known probity had made this compliance be aſcribed, not to an intereſted or

[x] 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2. [y] Ibid. cap. 3. [z] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 202.

time-

time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concern of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard paid to his character, had protected him from any severe treatment during the administration of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effect his purpose, to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against the prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required, that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: And when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill. CHAP. XXXV. 1552.

This equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by Northumberland and his partizans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction, in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found, that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected by the commons, though it had passed the upper house. A resolution was therefore taken to dissolve the parliament, which had sitten during this whole reign; and soon after to summon a new one. 15th April.

CHAP. XXXV.

1552. A new parliament.

NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to enſure to himſelf a houſe of commons entirely obſequious to his will, ventured on an expedient, which could not have been practiſed, or even imagined, in an age, when there was any idea or comprehenſion of liberty. He engaged the king to write circular letters to all the ſheriffs, in which he enjoined them to inform the freeholders, that they were required to chooſe men of knowledge and experience for their repreſentatives. After this general exhortation, the king continued in theſe words: "And "yet, nevertheleſs, our pleaſure is, that where our "privy-council, or any of them ſhall, in our behalf, "recommend, within their juriſdiction, men of learning "and wiſdom; in ſuch caſes, their directions ſhall be "regarded and followed, as tending to the ſame end "which we deſire, that is, to have this aſſembly com-"poſed of the perſons in our realm the beſt fitted to "give advice and good counſel[a]." Several letters were ſent from the king, recommending members to particular counties, Sir Richard Cotton to Hampſhire; Sir William Fitzwilliams and Sir Henry Nevil to Berkſhire; Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield to Suffolk, &c. But though ſome counties only received this ſpecies of *congé d'elire* from the king; the recommendations from the privy-council and the counſellors, we may fairly preſume, would extend to the greater part, if not to the whole, of the kingdom.

IT is remarkable, that this attempt was made during the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is uſually weakeſt; that it was patiently ſubmitted to; and that it gave ſo little umbrage as ſcarcely to be taken notice of by any hiſtorian. The painful and laborious collector above cited, who never omits the moſt trivial

[a] Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 394.

matter,

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matter, is the only perſon, that has thought this memorable letter worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity.

1553. 21ſt March.

THE parliament anſwered Northumberland's expectations. As Tonſtal had in the interval been deprived of his biſhopric in an arbitrary manner, by the ſentence of lay commiſſioners, appointed to try him, the ſee of Durham was by act of parliament divided into two biſhoprics, which had certain portions of the revenue aſſigned them. The regalities of the ſee, which included the juriſdiction of a count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; nor is it to be doubted but that nobleman had alſo purpoſed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then uſual with the courtiers, whenever a biſhopric became vacant.

THE commons gave the miniſtry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the moſt ſincere of any, the moſt cordial, and the moſt difficult to be obtained: They granted a ſupply of two ſubſidies and two fifteenths. To render this preſent the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accuſation of Somerſet, "for involving the king in wars, waſting his "treaſure, engaging him in much debt, embaſing "the coin, and giving occaſion for a moſt terrible re-"bellion[b]."

THE debts of the crown were at this time conſiderable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profit from the ſale of ſome chantry lands; the churches had been ſpoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity, had been converted to the king's uſe[c]: Yet ſuch had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds[d]; and great dilapidations were,

[b] 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12. [c] Heylin, p. 95. 132. [d] Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 344.

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at the ſame time, made of the royal demeſnes. The young prince ſhowed, among other virtues, a diſpoſition to frugality, which, had he lived, would ſoon have retrieved theſe loſſes: But as his health was declining very faſt, the preſent emptineſs of the exchequer was a ſenſible obſtacle to the execution of thoſe projects, which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the proſpect of Edward's approaching end.

Succeſſion changed.

THAT nobleman repreſented to the prince, whom youth and an infirm ſtate of health made ſuſceptible of any impreſſion, that his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament: And though Henry by his will had reſtored them to a place in the ſucceſſion, the nation would never ſubmit to ſee the throne of England filled by a baſtard: That they were the king's ſiſters by the half-blood only; and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the crown as his heirs and ſucceſſors: That the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the late king's will; and being an alien, had loſt by law all right of inheriting; not to mention, that, as ſhe was betrothed to the dauphin, ſhe would, by her ſucceſſion, render England, as ſhe had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain conſequence of his ſiſter Mary's ſucceſſion, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the proteſtant religion, and the repeal of the laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the uſurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: That, fortunately for England, the ſame order of ſucceſſion, which juſtice required, was alſo the moſt conformable to public intereſt; and there was not on any ſide any juſt ground for doubt or deliberation: That when theſe three princeſſes were excluded by ſuch ſolid reaſons, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, elder daughter of the French queen and the duke of Suffolk:

That

That the next heir of the marchioneſs was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the moſt amiable character, accompliſhed by the beſt education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a crown: And that even, if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no juſt reaſon to pretend, the king was poſſeſſed of the ſame power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Theſe reaſonings made impreſſion on the young prince; and above all, his zealous attachment to the proteſtant religion made him apprehend the conſequences, if ſo bigoted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ſucceed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no ſuch objection, means were found to perſuade him, that he could not exclude the one ſiſter on account of illegitimacy, without giving alſo an excluſion to the other. CHAP. XXXV. 1553.

NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his ſcheme. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk by a ſecond venter having died, this ſeaſon, of the ſweating ſickneſs, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to beſtow it on the marquis of Dorſet. By means of this favour and of others, which he conferred upon him, he perſuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the dutcheſs, to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth ſon, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himſelf by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Gray, ſecond daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke. He alſo married his own daughter to lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Huntingdon[c]. Theſe marriages were ſolemnized with great pomp and feſtivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland,

[c] Heylin, p. 199. Stowe, p. 609.

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could not forbear expreſſing their indignation at ſeeing ſuch public demonſtrations of joy, during the languiſhing ſtate of the young prince's health.

EDWARD had been ſeized in the foregoing year, firſt with the meaſles, then with the ſmall-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both theſe diſtempers, the nation entertained hopes, that they would only ſerve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progreſs through ſome parts of the kingdom. It was ſuſpected, that he had there overheated himſelf in exerciſe: He was ſeized with a cough, which proved obſtinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: Several fatal ſymptoms of a conſumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that, as the ſeaſon advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men ſaw with great concern his bloom and vigour inſenſibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health, from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him, in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

The king's ſickneſs.

THE languiſhing ſtate of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all, except his own emiſſaries, from about the king: He himſelf attended him with the greateſt aſſiduity: He pretended the moſt anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all theſe artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final conſent to the ſettlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and ſolicitor-general, were ſummoned to the council; where, after the minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They heſitated to obey; and deſired time to conſider

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ſider of it. The more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. The ſettlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had been made in conſequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, paſſed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treaſon in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of ſucceſſion. The judges pleaded theſe reaſons before the council. They urged, that ſuch a patent as was intended would be intirely invalid; that it would ſubject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counſellor who ſigned it, to the pains of treaſon; and that the only proper expedient, both for giving ſanction to the new ſettlement, and freeing its partizans from danger, was to ſummon a parliament, and to obtain the conſent of that aſſembly. The king ſaid, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he purpoſed to have his ſettlement ratified; but in the mean time, he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges, that their refuſal would ſubject all of them to the pains of treaſon. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and ſaid that he would in his ſhirt fight any man in ſo juſt a cauſe as that of lady Jane's ſucceſſion. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers from the law, and thoſe which aroſe from the violence of preſent power and authority [f].

THE arguments were canvaſſed in ſeveral different meetings between the council and the judges; and no ſolution could be found of the difficulties. At laſt, Montague propoſed an expedient, which ſatisfied both his brethren and the counſellors. He deſired, that a ſpecial commiſſion ſhould be paſſed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new ſettlement

[f] Fuller, book viii. p. 2.

of

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1553. of the crown; and that a pardon ſhould immediately after be granted them for any offence, which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn, and brought to the biſhop of Ely, chancellor, in order to have the great ſeal affixed to it, this prelate required, that all the judges ſhould previouſly ſign it. Goſnald at firſt refuſed; and it was with much difficulty that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the conſtancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous proteſtant, preferred juſtice on this occaſion to the prejudices of his party, could not be ſhaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater ſecurity, that all the privy counſellors ſhould ſet their hands to the patent: The intrigues of Northumberland or the fears of his violence were ſo prevalent, that the counſellors complied with this
21ſt June. demand. Cranmer alone heſitated during ſome time, but at laſt yielded to the earneſt and pathetic entreaties of the king [s]. Cecil, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, pretended afterwards, that he only ſigned as witneſs to the king's ſubſcription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were ſet aſide; and the crown was ſettled on the heirs of the dutcheſs of Suffolk: For the dutcheſs herſelf was content to give place to her daughters.

AFTER this ſettlement was made, with ſo many inauſpicious circumſtances, Edward viſibly declined every day; and ſmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worſe, his phyſicians were diſmiſſed by Northumberland's advice and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little time, to reſtore him to his former ſtate of health. After the uſe of her medicines, all the bad ſymptoms encreaſed to the moſt violent degree: He

[s] Cranm. Mem. p. 295.

felt

felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe failed, his legs ſwelled, his colour became livid; and many other ſymptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich in the ſixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign. CHAP. XXXV. 1553. And Death, 6th July.

All the Engliſh hiſtorians dwell with pleaſure on the excellent qualities of this young prince; whom the flattering promiſes of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public. He poſſeſſed mildneſs of diſpoſition, application to ſtudy and buſineſs, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and juſtice. He ſeems only to have contracted, from his education and from the genius of the age in which he lived, too much of a narrow prepoſſeſſion in matters of religion, which made him incline ſomewhat to bigotry and perſecution: But as the bigotry of proteſtants, leſs governed by prieſts, lies under more reſtraints than that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality were the leſs to be apprehended, if a longer life had been granted to young Edward.

CHAP. XXXVI.

MARY.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen——Deserted by the people——The queen proclaimed and acknowledged——Northumberland executed——Catholic religion restored——A parliament——Deliberations with regard to the queen's marriage——Queen's marriage with Philip——Wyat's insurrection——Suppressed——Execution of Lady Jane Gray——A parliament——Philip's arrival in England.

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THE title of the princess Mary, after the demise of her brother, was not exposed to any considerable difficulty; and the objections, started by the lady Jane's partizans, were new and unheard-of by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet, as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemingly founded on those principles of law and religion which then prevailed, few imagined, that their issue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it

was

was ever eſteemed juſt and natural. The public had long been familiarized to theſe ſentiments: During all the reign of Edward, the princeſs was regarded as his lawful ſucceſſor: And though the proteſtants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred, univerſally entertained againſt the Dudleys[g], who, men foreſaw would, under the name of Jane, be the real ſovereigns, was more than ſufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This laſt attempt, to violate the order of ſucceſſion, had diſplayed Northumberland's ambition and injuſtice in a full light; and when the people reflected on the long train of fraud, iniquity, and cruelty by which that project had been conducted; that the lives of the two Seymours, as well as the title of the princeſſes, had been ſacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to exert themſelves in oppoſition to ſuch criminal enterprizes. The general veneration alſo, paid to the memory of Henry VIII. prompted the nation to defend the rights of his poſterity; and the miſeries of the ancient civil wars were not ſo entirely forgotten, that men were willing, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the danger of like bloodſhed and confuſion.

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NORTHUMBERLAND, ſenſible of the oppoſition which he muſt expect, had carefully concealed the deſtination made by the king; and in order to bring the two princeſſes into his power, he had had the precaution to engage the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in that prince's name, deſiring their attendance, on pretence that his infirm ſtate of health required the aſſiſtance of their counſel and the conſolation of their company[h]. Edward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland, in order to make the princeſſes fall into the ſnare, kept the king's death ſtill ſecret; and the lady Mary had already reached Hoddeſden, within half a day's jour-

[g] Sleidan, lib. 25. [h] Heylin, p. 154.

ney

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ney of the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel ſent her private intelligence, both of her brother's death and of the conſpiracy formed againſt her[i]: She immediately made haſte to retire; and ſhe arrived, by quick journies, firſt at Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suffolk; where ſhe purpoſed to embark and eſcape to Flanders, in caſe ſhe ſhould find it impoſſible to defend her right of ſucceſſion. She wrote letters to the nobility and moſt conſiderable gentry in every county in England; commanding them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon. And ſhe diſpatched a meſſage to the council; by which ſhe notified to them, that her brother's death was no longer a ſecret to her, promiſed them pardon for paſt offences, and required them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London[k].

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther diſſimulation was fruitleſs: He went to Sion-houſe[l], accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who reſided there, with all the reſpect uſually paid to the ſovereign. Jane was, in a great meaſure, ignorant of theſe tranſactions; and it was with equal grief and ſurprize, that ſhe received intelligence of them[m]. She was a lady of an amiable perſon, an engaging diſpoſition, accompliſhed parts; and being of an equal age with the late king, ſhe had received all her education with him, and ſeemed even to poſſeſs greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, beſides modern tongues; had paſſed moſt of her time in an application to learning; and expreſſed a great indifference for other occupations and amuſements, uſual with

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen.

i Burnet, vol. ii. p. 233.
l Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 10. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 234.
k Fox, vol. iii. p. 14.
m Godwin in Kennet, p. 329.

her

her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him, that she received more pleasure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gaiety [n]. Her heart, full of this passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the intelligence of her elevation to the throne was no-wise agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the present; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprize so dangerous, not to say so criminal; and desired to remain in the private station in which she was born. Overcome at last by the entreaties, rather than the reasons, of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. It was then usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the Tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new sovereign. All the counsellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; and by this means became, in reality, prisoners in the hands of Northumberland; whose will they were necessitated to obey. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London, and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: Some even expressed their scorn and contempt; and one Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was severely punished for this offence. The protestant teachers

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[n] Ascham's works, p. 222, 223.

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themſelves, who were employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found their eloquence fruitleſs; and Ridley, biſhop of London, who preached a ſermon to that purpoſe, wrought no effect upon his audience.

THE people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary. As they were much attached to the reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidſt their tenders of duty, expreſſing apprehenſions for their religion; but when ſhe aſſured them, that ſhe never meant to change the laws of Edward, they enliſted themſelves in her cauſe with zeal and affection. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her, and brought her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suſſex, the eldeſt ſons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Sir Henry Jernegan, perſons whoſe intereſt lay in the neighbourhood, appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers [o]. Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having received a commiſſion from the council to make levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamſhire, carried over his troops, which amounted to four thouſand men, and joined Mary. Even a fleet, which had been ſent by Northumberland to lie off the coaſt of Suffolk, being forced into Yarmouth by a ſtorm, was engaged to declare for that princeſs.

NORTHUMBERLAND, hitherto blinded by ambition, ſaw at laſt the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himſelf. He had levied forces, which were aſſembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counſellors, whoſe compliance, he knew, had been entirely the reſult of fear or artifice, he was reſolved to keep near the perſon of the lady Jane, and ſend Suffolk to command the army. But the counſellors, who wiſhed to remove him [p], working on the filial tenderneſs

[o] Heylin, p. 160. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 237.

[p] Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 159. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15.

of

of Jane, magnified to her the danger to which her father would be exposed; and represented, that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by formerly suppressing a rebellion in those parts, was more proper to command in that enterprize. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think, that none but himself was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counsellors attended on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy [q]. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one "who cries, *God speed you* [r]!" CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

The duke had no sooner reached St. Edmond's-bury, than he found his army, which did not exceed six thousand men, too weak to encounter the Queen's [s], which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; and the counsellors immediately laid hold of the opportunity to free themselves from confinement. They left the Tower, as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; but being assembled in Baynard's castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprize which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he affirmed, that the only method of making atonement for their past offences, was by a speedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign [t]. This mo- Lady Jane deserted by the people.

[q] Heylin, p. 161. Baker, p. 315. Hollingshed, p. 1086.
[r] Speed, p. 816. [s] Godwin, p. 331.
[t] Godwin, p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii.

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tion was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her[u]: And the messengers, who were sent to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction[w]. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper[x].

The queen proclaimed and acknowledged.

The queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arrested him, and abjectly begged his life[y]. At the same time were committed the earl of Warwic his eldest son, lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, lady

u Godwin, p. 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2. w Stowe, p. 612.
x Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240. Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613.
y Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, p. 315. Hollingshed, p. 1088.

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Jane Grey, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers, appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself, could sit as his judges? Being told, that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons, not lying under any sentence of attainder, were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury[z]; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people, that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors: Whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised, from interest and ambition, or that he hoped, by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family[a]. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprize against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting

22 Aug. Northumberland executed.

[z] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Hollingshed, p. 1089.

[a] Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243. Stowe, p. 614.

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it in execution. The youth and innocence of the perſons, neither of whom had reached their ſeventeenth year, pleaded ſufficiently in their favour.

When Mary firſt arrived in the Tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner during all the laſt reign; Courtney, ſon of the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adhering to the catholic cauſe, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection [b]. They were all of them reſtored to their liberty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and favour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithſtanding that it had paſſed in Parliament, was repreſented as null and invalid; becauſe, among other informalities, no ſpecial matter had been alleged againſt him, except wearing a coat of arms, which he and his anceſtors, without giving any offence, had always made uſe of, in the face of the court and of the whole nation. Courtney ſoon after received the title of earl of Devonſhire; and though educated in ſuch cloſe confinement, that he was altogether unacquainted with the world, he ſoon acquired all the accompliſhments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a conſiderable figure during the few years which he lived after he recovered his liberty [c]. Beſides performing all thoſe popular acts, which, though they only affected individuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen endeavoured to ingratiate herſelf with the public, by granting a general pardon, though with ſome exceptions, and by remitting the ſubſidy voted to her brother by the laſt parliament [d].

The joy ariſing from the ſucceſſion of the lawful heir and from the gracious demeanour of the ſovereign, hin-

[b] Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Hollingſhed, p. 1088.
[c] Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 246, 247. [d] Stowe, p. 616.

dere

dered not the people from being agitated with great anxiety concerning the ſtate of religion; and as the bulk of the nation inclined to the proteſtant communion, the apprehenſions, entertained concerning the principles and prejudices of the new queen, were pretty general. The legitimacy of Mary's birth had appeared to be ſomewhat connected with the papal authority; and that princeſs, being educated with her mother, had imbibed the ſtrongeſt attachment to the catholic communion, and the higheſt averſion to thoſe new tenets, whence, ſhe believed, all the misfortunes of her family had originally ſprung. The diſcouragements, which ſhe lay under from her father, though at laſt they brought her to comply with his will, tended ſtill more to encreaſe her diſguſt to the reformers; and the vexations, which the protector and the council gave her, during Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a ſour and obſtinate temper, and irritated by contradiction and misfortunes, ſhe poſſeſſed all the qualities fitted to compoſe a bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reaſon to dread, not only the abolition, but the perſecution of the eſtabliſhed religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long ere ſhe diſcovered her intentions. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtal, Day, Heath, and Veſey, were reinſtated in their ſees, either by a direct act of power, or, what is nearly the ſame, by the ſentence of commiſſioners appointed to review their trial and condemnation. Though the biſhopric of Durham had been diſſolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters-patent, and replaced Tonſtal in his regalities as well as his revenue. On pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, ſhe ſilenced, by an act of prerogative, Catholic religion reſtored.

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all the preachers throughout England, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licence; and it was eaſy to foreſee, that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbiſhop of York, Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloceſter, were thrown into priſon; whither old Latimer alſo was ſent ſoon after. The zealous biſhops and prieſts were encouraged in their forwardneſs to revive the maſs, though contrary to the preſent laws. Judge Hales, who had diſcovered ſuch conſtancy in defending the queen's title, loſt all his merit by an oppoſition to thoſe illegal practices; and being committed to cuſtody, was treated with ſuch ſeverity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himſelf. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten; becauſe they preſumed to plead the promiſe which the queen, when they enliſted themſelves in her ſervice, had given them, of maintaining the reformed religion: One, in particular, was ſet in the pillory, becauſe he had been too peremptory in recalling to her memory the engagements which ſhe had taken on that occaſion. And though the queen ſtill promiſed, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate thoſe who differed from her, men foreſaw, that this engagement, like the former, would prove but a feeble ſecurity, when ſet in oppoſition to religious prejudices.

THE merits of Cranmer towards the queen, during the reign of Henry, had been conſiderable; and he had ſucceſsfully employed his good offices in mitigating the ſevere prejudices which that monarch had entertained againſt her. But the active part, which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in ſoliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made ſufficient atonement, by his ſufferings in defence of

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of the catholic cauſe. The primate, therefore, had reaſon to expect little favour during the preſent reign; but it was by his own indiſcreet zeal, that he brought on himſelf the firſt violence and perſecution. A report being ſpread, that Cranmer, in order to pay court to the queen, had promiſed to officiate in the Latin ſervice, the archbiſhop, to wipe off this aſperſion, publiſhed a manifeſto in his own defence. Among other expreſſions, he there ſaid, that, as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had at this time ſtirred up his ſervants to perſecute Chriſt and his true religion: That this infernal ſpirit now endeavoured to reſtore the Latin ſatisfactory maſſes, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effect his purpoſe, had falſely made uſe of Cranmer's name and authority: And that the maſs is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or in the practice of the primitive church, but likewiſe diſcovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inſpired writings, and is beſides replete with many horrid blaſphemies[f]. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into priſon, and was tried for the part which he had acted, in concurring with the lady Jane, and oppoſing the queen's acceſſion. Sentence of high treaſon was pronounced againſt him; and though his guilt was ſhared with the whole privy council, and was even leſs than that of the greater part of them, this ſentence, however ſevere, muſt be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reſerved for a more cruel puniſhment.

PETER MARTYR, ſeeing a perſecution gathering againſt the reformers, deſired leave to withdraw[g]; and

[f] Fox, vol. iii. p. 94. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. No 8. Cranm. Mem. p. 305. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 3.

[g] Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Cranm. Mem. p. 317.

while

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while ſome zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generouſly furniſhed him with ſupplies for his journey: But as bigoted zeal ſtill encreaſed, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill [h]. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the ſame time committed to the flames at Cambridge [i]. John à Laſco was firſt ſilenced, then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign proteſtants followed him; and the nation thereby loſt many uſeful hands for arts and manufactures. Several Engliſh proteſtants alſo took ſhelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a diſmal aſpect for the reformation.

5th Oct. A parliament.

DURING this revolution of the court, no protection was expected by proteſtants from the parliament, which was ſummoned to aſſemble. A zealous reformer [k] pretends, that great violence and iniquity were uſed in the elections; but beſides that the authority of this writer is inconſiderable, that practice, as the neceſſities of government ſeldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There ſtill remained ſuch numbers devoted, by opinion or affection, to many principles of the ancient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give ſuch candidates the preference in moſt elections; and all thoſe who heſitated to comply with the court religion, rather declined taking a ſeat, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection againſt the violence of prerogative. It ſoon appeared, therefore, that a ma-

[h] Heylin, p. 26. [i] Saunders de Schiſm. Anglic.

[k] Beale. But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narratives, ſays nothing of the matter. See vol. iii. p. 16.

jority of the commons would be obsequious to Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was expected from that quarter. 1553.

In opening the parliament, the court showed a contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament[l]. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house[m]. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery, which were the most grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII[n]. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer[o], whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote[p]. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was re-

l Fox, vol. iii. p. 19.

m Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252.

n Mariæ, sess. i. c. 1. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clause of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was lost, which required the confronting of two witnesses, in order to prove any treason.

o Mariæ, sess. 2. c. 1.

p 1 Mariæ, sess. 2. c. 1.

versed by

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1553. verſed; and this act of juſtice was more reaſonable than the declaring of that attainder invalid, without farther authority. Many clauſes of the riot act, paſſed in the late reign, were revived: A ſtep which eluded, in a great meaſure, the popular ſtatute enacted at the firſt meeting of parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the compliance of the two houſes with the queen's inclinations, they had ſtill a reſerve in certain articles; and her choice of a huſband, in particular, was of ſuch importance to national intereſt, that they were determined not to ſubmit tamely, in that reſpect, to her will and pleaſure. There were three marriages[q], concerning which it was ſuppoſed that Mary had deliberated after her acceſſion. The firſt perſon propoſed to her, was Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who, being an Engliſhman, nearly allied to the crown, could not fail of being acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging perſon and addreſs, he had viſibly gained on the queen's affections[r], and hints were dropped him of her favourable diſpoſitions towards him[s]. But that nobleman neglected theſe overtures; and ſeemed rather to attach himſelf to the lady Elizabeth, whoſe youth and agreeable converſation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her ſiſter. This choice occaſioned a great coldneſs in Mary towards Devonſhire; and made her break out in a declared animoſity againſt Elizabeth. The ancient quarrel between their mothers had ſunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, ſhe wanted not a pretence for repreſenting the birth of her ſiſter as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princeſs had made ſome diffi-

[q] Thuan. lib. ii. c. 3. 263. 214, 215. vol. iii. p. 27.

[r] Depêches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 247.

[s] Godwin, p. 339.

guilty

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culty in disguising her sentiments, violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance[t]. But when the queen found, that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point which, perhaps, touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, no longer knew any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger[u].

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul III.[w]; the queen's affection for the countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had once been her governess; the violent animosity to which he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the hurry of business[x]. The queen, therefore, dropped all thoughts of that alliance: But as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still intended to reap the benefit of his counsel in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negociation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office[y].

t Dep. de Noailles, vol. ii. passim. u Heylin, p. 31. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 255. w Father Paul, book iii, x Heylin, p. 32. y Burnet, vol. ii. p. 258.

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THESE two marriages being rejected, the queen caſt her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was deſcended, and which, during her own diſtreſſes, had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles V. who a few years before was almoſt abſolute maſter of Germany, had exerciſed his power in ſuch an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme diſguſt to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their liberties from the encroachments of that monarch [z]. Religion had ſerved him as a pretence for his uſurpations; and from the ſame principle he met with that oppoſition, which overthrew his grandeur, and daſhed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Heſſe, who, by his advice, and on his aſſurances, had put himſelf into the emperor's hands, ſhould be unjuſtly detained a priſoner, formed a ſecret conſpiracy among the proteſtant princes; and covering his intentions with the moſt artful diſguiſes, he ſuddenly marched his forces againſt Charles, and narrowly miſſed becoming maſter of his perſon. The proteſtants flew to arms in every quarter; and their inſurrection, aided by an invaſion from France, reduced the emperor to ſuch difficulties, that he was obliged to ſubmit to terms of peace, which inſured the independency of Germany. To retrieve his honour, he made an attack on France; and laying ſiege to Metz, with an army of a hundred thouſand men, he conducted the enterprize in perſon, and ſeemed determined, at all hazards, to ſucceed in an undertaking which had fixed the attention of Europe. But the duke of Guiſe, who defended Metz, with a garriſon compoſed of the braveſt nobility of France, exerted ſuch vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the ſiege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to perſevere any longer. He

[z] Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 17.

retired

retired with the remains of his army into the Low-Countries, much dejected with that reverſe of fortune, which, in his declining years, had ſo fatally overtaken him. CHAP. XXXVI. 1553.

No ſooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the acceſſion of his kinſwoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the ſcheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped, by this incident, to balance all the loſſes which he had ſuſtained in Germany. His ſon Philip was a widower; and though he was only twenty-ſeven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked, and there was no reaſon to deſpair of her ſtill having a numerous iſſue. The emperor, therefore, immediately ſent over an agent to ſignify his intentions to Mary, who, pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herſelf more cloſely with her mother's family, to which ſhe was ever ſtrongly attached, readily embraced the propoſal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: And Gardiner, who was become prime miniſter, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, ſeconded the project of the Spaniſh alliance. At the ſame time, he repreſented, both to her and the emperor, the neceſſity of ſtopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He obſerved, that the parliament, amidſt all their compliances, had diſcovered evident ſymptoms of jealouſy, and ſeemed at preſent determined to grant no farther conceſſions in favour of the catholic religion: That though they might make a ſacrifice to their ſovereign of ſome ſpeculative principles, which they did not well comprehend, or of ſome rites, which ſeemed not of any great moment, they had imbibed ſuch ſtrong prejudices againſt the pretended uſurpations and exactions of

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of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: That the danger of resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions, which were but too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church: That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point were urged, at the same time with farther changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and insurrection: That the marriage, being once completed, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward the pious work in which she was engaged: And that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would seem to ensure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their ancient laws and privileges[z].

The emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of human policy, after having sent contrary advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage mean-while proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions of espousing Philip became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already

[z] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 261.

made,

made, were alarmed to hear, that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

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A CONVOCATION had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article which, of all others, they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined, that they had obtained some advantage, when, in the course of the debate, they obliged the catholics to avow, that, according to their doctrine, Christ had, in his last supper, held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eaten himself[a]. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: The Romanists maintained, that *their* champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to show that they feared no force of learning or abilities, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their

[a] Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22.

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baffled principles[b]. The iſſue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference, held at the ſame place, during the reign of Edward.

1553.

1554. AFTER the parliament and convocation were diſmiſſed, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated, in moſt places, by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by government, were ſtill more openly put in execution: The maſs was every where reeſtabliſhed; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any ſpiritual office. It has been aſſerted by ſome writers, that three fourths of the clergy were, at this time, deprived of their livings; though other hiſtorians, more accurate[c], have eſtimated the number of ſufferers to be far ſhort of this proportion. A viſitation was appointed, in order to reſtore more perfectly the maſs and the ancient rites. Among other articles, the commiſſioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of ſupremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice[d]. It is to be obſerved, that this oath had been eſtabliſhed by the laws of Henry VIII. which were ſtill in force.

Queen's marriage with Philip.

THIS violent and ſudden change of religion inſpired the proteſtants with great diſcontent; and even affected indifferent ſpectators with concern, by the hardſhips to which ſo many individuals were on that account expoſed. But the Spaniſh match was a point of more general concern, and diffuſed univerſal apprehenſions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as poſſible for the intereſt and ſecurity, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed that, though Philip ſhould have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be en-

b Mem. Cranm. p. 354. Heylin, p. 50. c Harmer, p. 138.
d Collier, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35. Sleidan, lib. 25.

tirely in the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent of the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled as her jointure; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low-Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriage, ſhould die and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip[e]. Such was the treaty of marriage ſigned by count Egmont, and three other ambaſſadors ſent over to England by the emperor[f]. CHAP. XXXVI. 1554. 15th Jan.

THESE articles, when publiſhed, gave no ſatisfaction to the nation: It was univerſally ſaid, that the emperor, in order to get poſſeſſion of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded, that he had no ſerious intention of obſerving them: That the uſual fraud and ambition of that monarch might aſſure the nation of ſuch a conduct; and his ſon Philip, while he inherited theſe vices from his father, added to them tyranny, ſullenneſs, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: That England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which uſually exerciſed the moſt violent authority over all her dependent dominions: That the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burthen of Spaniſh tyranny; and throughout all the new conqueſts in America there had been diſplayed ſcenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the hiſtory of mankind: That the inquiſition was a tribunal invented

[e] Rymer, xv. p. 377. [f] Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 299.

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by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and inſtitutions, be introduced into England: And that the divided ſentiments of the people with regard to religion would ſubject multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the moſt abject ſervitude[g].

These complaints being diffuſed every where, prepared the people for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the conſequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hoſtilities with the emperor, refuſed to concur in any propoſal for an inſurrection, leſt he ſhould afford Mary a pretence for declaring war againſt him[h]. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that, as the evils of the Spaniſh alliance were only dreaded at a diſtance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some perſons, however, more turbulent than the reſt, believed that it would be ſafer to prevent than to redreſs grievances; and they formed a conſpiracy to riſe in arms, and declare againſt the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat purpoſed to raiſe Kent, Sir Peter Carew, Devonſhire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raiſing the midland counties[i]. Carew's impatience or apprehenſions engaged him to break the concert, and to riſe in arms before the day appointed: He was ſoon ſuppreſſed by the earl of Bedford, and conſtrained to fly into France. On this intelligence, Suffolk, dreading an arreſt, ſuddenly left the town, with his brothers, lord Thomas, and lord Leonard Gray; and endeavoured to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter,

Wiat's inſurrection.

g Heylin, p. 32. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 268. Godwin, p. 339.
h Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 249. vol. iii. p. 27. 58.
i Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 340.

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where his intereſt lay; but he was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of 300 horſe, that he was obliged to diſperſe his followers, and being diſcovered in his concealment, he was carried priſoner to London[k]. Wiat was at firſt more ſucceſsful in his attempt; and having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone in Kent, againſt the queen's evil counſellors, and againſt the Spaniſh match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his ſtandard. The duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Jernegan, was ſent againſt him, at the head of the guards and ſome other troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by Bret: And he came within ſight of the rebels at Rocheſter, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir George Harper here pretended to deſert from them; but having ſecretly gained Bret, theſe two malcontents ſo wrought on the Londoners, that the whole body deſerted to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute to enſlave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the contagion of the example, immediately retreated with his troops, and took ſhelter in the city[l].

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After this proof of the diſpoſitions of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly proteſtants, Wiat was encouraged to proceed: He led his forces to Southwark, where he required of the queen, that ſhe ſhould put the Tower into his hands, ſhould deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and, in order to enſure the liberty of the nation, ſhould immediately marry an Engliſhman. Finding that the bridge was ſecured againſt him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingſton, where he paſſed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently

k Fox, vol. iii. p. 30.
l Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 342. Stowe, p. 619. Baker, p. 318. Hollingſhed, p. 1094.

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wasted so much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost: Though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-Bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley [m]. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion [n]: Four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were dismissed. Wiat was condemned and executed: As it had been reported, that, on his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as accomplices, he took care on the scaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any share in his rebellion.

6th Feb.

Insurrection suppressed.

The lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister; and many studied instances of discouragement and disrespect had been practised against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the countess of Lenox and the duchess of Suffolk, as if she were not legitimate [o]: Her friends were discountenanced on every occasion: And while her virtues, which were now become eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation [p], the malevolence of the queen still discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. Mary seized the opportunity of this rebellion; and, hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But

[m] Fox, vol. iii. p. 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270. Stowe, p. 622. [n] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 124.
[o] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 273. 288. [p] Ibid. p. 273.

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the public declaration made by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ againſt her any falſe evidence which might have offered; and the princeſs made ſo good a defence, that the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity of releaſing her [q]. In order to ſend her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the duke of Savoy; and when ſhe declined the propoſal, ſhe was committed to cuſtody under a ſtrong guard, at Wodeſtoke [r]. The earl of Devonſhire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay caſtle.

But this rebellion proved ſtill more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her huſband: The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malcontents ſeemed chiefly to reſt their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire, the queen, incapable of generoſity or clemency, determined to remove every perſon from whom the leaſt danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which ſhe had been expoſed, rendered nowiſe unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the priſoner's ſoul, induced her to ſend divines, who haraſſed her with perpetual diſputation; and even a reprieve for three days was granted her, in hopes that ſhe would be perſuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely converſion, ſome regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had preſence of mind, in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in uſe, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter [s] in the Greek language; in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to

[q] Godwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273. Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. 105. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 85. [r] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 226. [s] Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166.

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1554. 12th Feb.

maintain, in every fortune, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the day of her execution, her huſband, lord Guilford, deſired permiſſion to ſee her; but ſhe refuſed her conſent, and informed him by a meſſage, that the tenderneſs of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conſtancy, which their approaching end required of them: Their ſeparation, ſhe ſaid, would be only for a moment; and they would ſoon rejoin each other in a ſcene, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, diſappointment, and misfortunes could no longer have acceſs to them, or diſturb their eternal felicity[t].

Execution of lady Jane Gray.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford together on the ſame ſcaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that ſhe ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution; and having given him from the window ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart; and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports which ſhe heard of the conſtancy of his end, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle. Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: She gave him her table-book, on which ſhe had juſt written three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in Engliſh[u]. The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that, if her fault deſerved puniſh-

[t] Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319. [u] Heylin, p. 167.

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ment, her youth at leaſt, and her imprudence were worthy of excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhow her favour. On the ſcaffold, ſhe made a ſpeech to the by-ſtanders; in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame wholly on herſelf, without uttering one complaint againſt the ſeverity with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with ſufficient conſtancy: That ſhe had leſs erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: That ſhe willingly received death, as the only ſatisfaction which ſhe could now make to the injured ſtate; and though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhow, by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous to atone for that diſobedience, into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: That ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling inſtrument, of the ambition of others: And that the ſtory of her life, ſhe hoped, might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence excuſes not great miſdeeds, if they tend anywiſe to the deſtruction of the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women; and, with a ſteddy ſerene countenance, ſubmitted herſelf to the executioner[w].

The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed ſoon after; and would have met with more compaſſion, had not his temerity been the cauſe of his daughter's untimely end. Lord Thomas Gray loſt his life for the ſame crime. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no ſatisfactory evidence againſt him, he was able, by making an admirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his favour.

[w] Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii. p. 36, 37. Hollingſhed, p. 1099.

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1554. The queen was so enraged at the disappointment, that, instead of releasing him as the law required, she re-committed him to the Tower, and kept him in close confinement during some time. But her resentment stopped not here: The jury, being summoned before the council, were all sent to prison, and afterwards fined, some of them a thousand pounds, others two thousand a-piece[x]. This violence proved fatal to several; among others to Sir John Throgmorton, brother to Sir Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than had formerly been rejected. The queen filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion. And, finding that she was universally hated, she determined to disable the people from resistance, by ordering general musters, and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles[y].

A Parliament. 5th April.

THOUGH the government laboured under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an encrease from the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The emperor, also, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 crowns, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members: A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, resumed her title of supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner,

x Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker, p. 320. Hollingshed, p. 1104. 1125. Strype, vol. iii. p. 120. Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 173.
y Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 98.

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the chancellor, opened the session by a speech; in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chusing a husband for herself; observed how proper a use she had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry VIII.'s posterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that, in order to obviate the inconveniencies which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor: A power, he said, which was not to be thought unprecedented in England, since it had formerly been conferred on Henry VIII. [a]

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The parliament was much disposed to gratify the queen in all her desires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation were in such visible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred which she bore to the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria: They were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to postpone all considerations of justice or national interest to the establishment of the catholic religion: They remarked that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in his speech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the queen's sister; and they thence concluded that a design was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected that Mary, if invested with such a power as she required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with these projects, as they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lan-

[a] Depeches de Noailles.

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caſter was carefully inſiſted on, and that he was publicly repreſented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

THE parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a diſtance from the precipice which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage[a], which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined the paſſing of any ſuch law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not ſo much as declare it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's huſband, while ſhe was alive; and a bill, introduced for that purpoſe, was laid aſide after the firſt reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of poſſeſſing any authority in England, they paſſed a law, in which they declared, "that her majeſty, as their only "queen, ſhould ſolely, and as a ſole queen, enjoy the "crown and ſovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-"eminencies, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in "as large and ample a manner after her marriage as be-"fore, without any title or claim accruing to the prince "of Spain, either as tenant by courteſy of the realm, "or by any other means[b]."

A LAW paſſed in this parliament for re-erecting the biſhopric of Durham, which had been diſſolved by the laſt parliament of Edward[c]. The queen had already, by an exertion of her power, put Tonſtal in poſſeſſion of that ſee: But though it was uſual, at that time, for the crown to aſſume authority which might ſeem entirely legiſlative, it was always deemed more ſafe and ſatisfactory to procure the ſanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for ſuppreſſing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the ſix articles, together with thoſe againſt the Lollards, and againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching: But none of theſe laws could paſs the

a 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2. b Ibid. cap. 1. c Ibid. cap. 3.

TWO

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two houſes: A proof that the parliament had reſerves even in their conceſſions with regard to religion, about which they ſeem to have been leſs ſcrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not ſerve all her purpoſes, finiſhed the ſeſſion by diſſolving them. 1554. 5th May.

MARY's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected. This princeſs, who had lived ſo many years in a very reſerved and private manner, without any proſpect or hopes of a huſband, was ſo ſmitten with affection for her young conſort, whom ſhe had never ſeen, that ſhe waited with the utmoſt impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obſtacle was to her a ſource of anxiety and diſcontent[d]. She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and ſhe could not conceal her vexation, that, though ſhe brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he treated her with ſuch neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a ſingle letter[e]. Her fondneſs was but the more encreaſed by this ſupercilious treatment; and when ſhe found that her ſubjects had entertained the greateſt averſion for the event to which ſhe directed her fondeſt wiſhes, ſhe made the whole Engliſh nation the object of her reſentment. A ſquadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convoy Philip from Spain, where he then reſided; but the admiral, informing her that the diſcontents ran very high among the ſeamen, and that it was not ſafe for Philip to entruſt himſelf in their hands, ſhe gave orders to diſmiſs them[f]. She then dreaded leſt the French fleet, being maſters of the ſea, might intercept her huſband; and every rumour of danger, every blaſt of wind, threw her into panics and convulſions. Her health, and even her underſtanding, were viſibly hurt by

[d] Strype, vol. iii. p. 125. [e] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 248. [f] Ibid. p. 280.

this

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this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension, lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should prove disagreeable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how hagard she was become; and when she remarked the decay of her beauty, she knew not whether she ought more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip[g].

29th July. Philip's arrival in England.

At last came the moment so impatiently expected; and news was brought the queen, of Philip's arrival at Southampton[h]. A few days after, they were married in Westminster; and having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so entrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible[i]: But this circumstance rendered him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient when she met with any interruption to her fondness. The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he showed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal her jealousy and resentment.

Mary soon found that Philip's ruling passion was ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him, and securing his affections, was to render him master of

g Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 222. 252, 253.

h Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 392. Godwin, p. 345. We are told by Sir William Monson, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board; because they had not lowered their topsails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas: A very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times.

i Baker, p. 320.

England.

England. The intereſt and liberty of her people were conſiderations of ſmall moment, in compariſon of her obtaining this favourite point. She ſummoned a new parliament, in hopes of finding them entirely compliant; and that ſhe might acquire the greater authority over them, ſhe imitated the precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters, directing a proper choice of members[k]. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spaniſh gold, the powers of prerogative, the diſcouragement of the gentry, particularly of the proteſtants; all theſe cauſes, ſeconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had procured her a houſe of commons, which was, in a great meaſure, to her ſatisfaction; and it was thought, from the diſpoſition of the nation, that ſhe might now ſafely omit, on her aſſembling the parliament, the title of *ſupreme head of the church*, though inſeparably annexed by law to the crown of England[l]. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, inveſted with legantine powers from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament paſſed an act, reverſing his attainder, and reſtoring his blood; and the queen, diſpenſing with the old ſtatute of proviſors, granted him permiſſion to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and, after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themſelves and the kingdom to the apoſtolic ſee, from which they had been ſo long and ſo unhappily divided. This meſſage was taken in good part; and both houſes voted an addreſs to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a moſt horrible defection from the true church; profeſſing a ſincere repentance of their paſt tranſgreſſions; declaring their reſolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majeſties, that, ſince they were happily un-

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[k] Mem. of Cranm. p. 344. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. p. 154, 155.
[l] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 291. Strype, vol. iii. p. 155.

infected

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infected with that criminal ſchiſm, they would intercede with the holy father for the abſolution and forgiveneſs of their penitent ſubjects[m]. The requeſt was eaſily granted. The legate, in the name of his holineſs, gave the parliament and kingdom abſolution, freed them from all cenſures, and received them again into the boſom of the church. The pope, then Julius III. being informed of theſe tranſactions, ſaid, that it was an unexampled inſtance of his felicity, to receive thanks from the Engliſh for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing[n].

NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme zeal of thoſe times for and againſt popery, the object always uppermoſt with the nobility and gentry was their money and eſtates: They were not brought to make theſe conceſſions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated aſſurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the plunder which they had made on the eccleſiaſtics ſhould never be enquired into; and that the abbey and church lands ſhould remain with the preſent poſſeſſors[o]. But, not truſting altogether to theſe promiſes, the parliament took care, in the law itſelf[p], by which they repealed the former ſtatutes enacted againſt the pope's authority, to inſert a clauſe, in which, beſides beſtowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the ſchiſm, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave ſecurity to the poſſeſſors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The convocation alſo, in order to remove apprehenſions on that head, were induced to preſent a petition to the ſame purpoſe[q]; and the legate, in his maſter's name, ratified all theſe tranſactions.

[m] Fox, vol. iii. p. 3. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. Godwin, p. 247. [n] Father Paul, lib. iv. [o] Heylin, p. 41. [p] 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. [q] Heylin, p. 43. 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. Strype, vol. iii. p. 259.

It

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It now appeared that, notwithſtanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually ſuppreſſed in England, and invincible barriers fixed againſt its re-eſtabliſhment. For though the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtics was for the preſent reſtored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably loſt, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even theſe arbitrary, powerful, and bigoted princes, while the tranſactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her poſſeſſions ſo lately raviſhed from her; and no expedients were left to the clergy for enriching themſelves, but thoſe which they had at firſt practiſed, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbariſm, and ſuperſtition, to produce their effect on mankind [r].

The parliament, having ſecured their own poſſeſſions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even to the lives of their fellow-citizens: They revived the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics [s], which had been rejected in the former parliament: They alſo enacted ſeveral ſtatutes againſt ſeditious words and rumours [t]; and they made it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen [u]. Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a ſtep farther than their predeceſſors; but none of them had entirely loſt all regard to national intereſts. Their hatred againſt the Spaniards, as well as their ſuſpicion of Philip's pretenſions, ſtill prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her huſband declared preſumptive heir of the crown, and to have the adminiſtration put into his hands; ſhe failed in all her endeavours, and could not ſo much as procure the parliament's conſent to his coronation [w]. All attempts likewiſe to obtain ſubſidies from the commons, in order to

[r] See note [R] at the end of the volume.
[s] 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 6.
[t] Ibid. c. 3. 9.
[u] Ibid. c. 10.
[w] Godwin, p. 348. Baker, p. 322.

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support the emperor in his war againſt France, proved fruitleſs: The uſual animoſity and jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt that kingdom ſeemed to have given place, for the preſent, to like paſſions againſt Spain. Philip, ſenſible of the prepoſſeſſions entertained againſt him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the releaſe of ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction; lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the ſuſpicions or reſentment of the court[x]. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the ſpite and malice of the queen, and reſtoring her to liberty. This meaſure was not the effect of any generoſity in Philip, a ſentiment of which he was wholly deſtitute; but of a refined policy, which made him foreſee, that, if that princeſs were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whoſe ſucceſſion would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonſhire alſo reaped ſome benefit from Philip's affectation of popularity, and recovered his liberty: But that nobleman, finding himſelf expoſed to ſuſpicion, begged permiſſion to travel[y]; and he ſoon after died at Padua, from poiſon, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialiſts. He was the eleventh and laſt earl of Devonſhire of that noble family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Europe.

The queen's extreme deſire of having iſſue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, ſhe fancied, that ſhe felt the embryo ſtir in her womb[z]. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptiſt, who leaped in his mother's belly at the ſalu-

[x] Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 287. Stowe, p. 626. Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 146, 147. [y] Heylin, p. 40. Godwin, p. 349.
[z] Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 25.

tation of the virgin[a]. Dispatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event: Orders were issued to give public thanks: Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already settled[b]; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: And Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation still remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded, that the queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and was one artifice, by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster, and dissolved them.

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THERE happened an incident this session which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession, in order to show their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house[c]. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's-bench after the dissolution of parliament: Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: The rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue. Judging of the matter by the subsequent claims of the house of commons, and, indeed,

16th Jan.

[a] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292. Godwin, p. 348. [b] Heylin, p. 46.
[c] Coke's Institutes, part iv. p. 27. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 165.

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by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's miniſters muſt be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at the time, and was never called in queſtion by any houſe of commons which afterwards ſat during this reign. The count of Noailles, the French ambaſſador, ſays, that the queen threw ſeveral members into priſon for their freedom of ſpeech [d].

[d] Vol. v. p. 256.

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Reaſons for and againſt Toleration——Perſecutions——A parliament——The queen's extortions——The emperor reſigns his crown——Execution of Cranmer——War with France——Battle of St. Quintin——Calais taken by the French——Affairs of Scotland——Marriage of the Dauphin and the queen of Scots—A parliament—Death of the queen.

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THE ſucceſs, which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spaniſh match, and in the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient religion, two points to which, it was believed, they bore an extreme averſion, had ſo raiſed his character for wiſdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the council; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer ſuffered any oppoſition or controul. Cardinal Pole himſelf, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and though ſuperior in birth and ſtation, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely reſpected, he was repreſented more as a good man than a great miniſter. A very important queſtion was frequently debated, before the queen and council, by theſe two eccleſiaſtics; whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics ſhould be put in execution, or ſhould only be employed to reſtrain, by terror, the bold attempts of theſe zealots? Pole was very ſincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be ſuſpected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheraniſm, he was ſeriouſly perſuaded of the catholic doctrines,

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and thought that no conſideration of human policy ought ever to come in competition with ſuch important intereſts. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion ſubſervient to his ſchemes of ſafety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaiſance to Henry, he had ſhown, that, had he not been puſhed to extremity under the late minority, he was ſufficiently diſpoſed to make a ſacrifice of his principles to the eſtabliſhed theology. This was the well-known character of theſe two great counſellors; yet ſuch is the prevalence of temper above ſyſtem, that the benevolent diſpoſition of Pole led him to adviſe a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed; while the ſevere manners of Gardiner inclined him to ſupport, by perſecution, that religion, which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference[c]. This circumſtance of public conduct was of the higheſt importance; and, from being the object of deliberation in the council, it ſoon became the ſubject of diſcourſe throughout the nation. We ſhall relate, in a few words, the topics, by which each ſide ſupported, or might have ſupported, their ſcheme of policy; and ſhall diſplay the oppoſite reaſons, which have been employed, with regard to an argument that ever has been, and ever will be, ſo much canvaſſed.

Reaſons for and againſt toleration.

THE practice of perſecution, ſaid the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the ſcandal of all religion; and the theological animoſity, ſo fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their oppoſite ſects, is a certain proof, that they have never reached any ſerious perſuaſion with regard to theſe remote and ſublime ſubjects. Even thoſe, who are the moſt impatient of contradiction in other controverſies, are mild and moderate in compariſon of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect aſſurance in

[c] Heylin, p. 47.

his

his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the oppoſition and miſtakes of others. But while men zealouſly maintain what they neither clearly comprehend, nor entirely believe, they are ſhaken in their imagined faith, by the oppoſite perſuaſion, or even doubts, of other men; and vent on their antagoniſts that impatience, which is the natural reſult of ſo diſagreeable a ſtate of the underſtanding. They then eaſily embrace any pretence for repreſenting opponents as impious and profane; and if they can alſo find a colour for connecting this violence with the intereſts of civil government, they can no longer be reſtrained from giving uncontrouled ſcope to vengeance and reſentment. But ſurely never enterprize was more unfortunate than that of founding perſecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the ſake of peace, to ſettle an entire uniformity of opinion, in queſtions which, of all others, are leaſt ſubjected to the criterion of human reaſon. The univerſal and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religious ſubjects, can be owing at firſt to the ſtupid ignorance alone and barbariſm of the people, who never indulge themſelves in any ſpeculation or enquiry; and there is no expedient for maintaining that uniformity, ſo fondly ſought after, but by baniſhing for ever all curioſity and all improvement in ſcience and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a ſteady ſeverity, the firſt beginnings of controverſy; but beſides that this policy expoſes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of ſuperſtition, and the magiſtrate to the endleſs encroachments of eccleſiaſtics, it alſo renders men ſo delicate, that they can never endure to hear of oppoſition; and they will ſome time pay dearly for that falſe tranquillity, in which they have been ſo long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable

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unavoidable incidents of human life; a people, who never were allowed to imagine, that their principles could be conteſted, fly out into the moſt outrageous violence, when any event (and ſuch events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives riſe to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be ſaid in favour of ſuppreſſing, by perſecution, the firſt beginnings of hereſy, no ſolid argument can be alleged for extending ſeverity towards multitudes, or endeavouring, by capital puniſhments, to extirpate an opinion, which has diffuſed itſelf among men of every rank and ſtation. Beſides the extreme barbarity of ſuch an attempt, it commonly proves ineffectual to the purpoſe intended; and ſerves only to make men more obſtinate in their perſuaſion, and to encreaſe the number of their proſelytes. The melancholy, with which the fear of death, torture, and perſecution inſpires the ſectaries, is the proper diſpoſition for foſtering religious zeal: The proſpect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporal puniſhments: The glory of martyrdom ſtimulates all the more furious zealots, eſpecially the leaders and preachers: Where a violent animoſity is excited by oppreſſion, men naturally paſs, from hating the perſons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: And the ſpectators, moved with pity towards the ſuppoſed martyrs, are eaſily ſeduced to embrace thoſe principles, which can inſpire men with a conſtancy that appears almoſt ſupernatural. Open the door to toleration, mutual hatred relaxes among the ſectaries; their attachment to their particular modes of religion decays; the common occupations and pleaſures of life ſucceed to the acrimony of diſputation; and the ſame man who, in other circumſtances, would have braved flames and tortures, is induced to change his ſect from the ſmalleſt proſpect of favour and advancement,

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or even from the frivolous hope of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the ancient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily, at one blow, be eradicated, without leaving the seeds of future innovation. But as this exception would imply some apology for the ancient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion.

THOUGH these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtilty of human wit, that Gardiner, and the other enemies to toleration, were not reduced to silence; and they still found topics on which to maintain the controversy. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience, is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing, with certainty, the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison, under the shape of food, to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children, at least, ignorant of the dissimulation of their parents, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is absurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspeakable importance, to plead the temporal

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temporal and frivolous intereſts of civil ſociety; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear ſo univerſally certain in favour of toleration as by ſome it is repreſented. Where ſects ariſe, whoſe fundamental principle on all ſides is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magiſtrate left but to take part, and by rendering one ſect entirely prevalent, reſtore, at leaſt for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here ſickly, muſt not be treated as if it were in a ſtate of ſound health; and an affected neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may ſerve only to encourage the hopes of all the ſects, and keep alive their animoſity. The proteſtants, far from tolerating the religion of their anceſtors, regard it as an impious and deteſtable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely maſters, they enacted very ſevere, though not capital, puniſhments againſt all exerciſe of the catholic worſhip, and even againſt ſuch as barely abſtained from their profane rites and ſacraments. Nor are inſtances wanting of their endeavours to ſecure an imagined orthodoxy by the moſt rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptiſts to the ſtake: And if perſecution of any kind be admitted, the moſt bloody and violent will ſurely be allowed the moſt juſtifiable, as the moſt effectual. Impriſonments, fines, confiſcations, whippings, ſerve only to irritate the ſects, without diſabling them from reſiſtance: But the ſtake, the wheel, and the gibbet, muſt ſoon terminate in the extirpation or baniſhment of all the heretics, inclined to give diſturbance, and in the entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion of the reſt.

The arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received;

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ceived; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed[e], the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law, not to exercise violence against the proteſtants, and deſired her to conſider his own example, who, after endeavouring, through his whole life, to extirpate hereſy, had, in the end, reaped nothing but confuſion and diſappointment, the ſcheme of toleration was entirely rejected. It was determined to let looſe the laws in their full vigour againſt the reformed religion; and England was ſoon filled with ſcenes of horror, which have ever ſince rendered the catholic religion the object of general deteſtation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, covered with the mantle of religion.

Violent perſecutions in England.

THE perſecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was firſt to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped, terror would bend to ſubmiſſion, and whoſe example, either of puniſhment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: But he found a perſeverance and courage in Rogers, which it may ſeem ſtrange to find in human nature, and of which all ages, and all ſects, do nevertheleſs furniſh many examples. Rogers, beſide the care of his own preſervation, lay under other powerful temptations to compliance: He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet ſuch was his ſerenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is ſaid, waked him from a ſound ſleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had deſired to ſee his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a prieſt, and could not poſſibly have a wife; thus

[e] Burnet, vol. ii. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any ſuch advice: For he himſelf was at this very time proceeding with great violence in perſecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part. i. lib. 2.

joining

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joining inſult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield[f].

Hooper, biſhop of Gloceſter, had been tried at the ſame time with Rogers; but was ſent to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance was contrived to ſtrike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a ſource of conſolation to Hooper, who rejoiced in giving teſtimony, by his death, to that doctrine which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the ſtake, a ſtool was ſet before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was ſtill in his power to merit by a recantation: But he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himſelf for that dreadful puniſhment to which he was ſentenced. He ſuffered it in its full ſeverity: The wind, which was violent, blew the flame of the reeds from his body: The faggots were green, and did not kindle eaſily: All his lower parts were conſumed, before his vitals were attacked: One of his hands dropped off: With the other he continued to beat his breaſt: He was heard to pray and to exhort the people; till his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible conſtancy[g].

Sanders was burned at Coventry: A pardon was alſo offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the ſtake, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt! welcome everlaſting life!" Taylor, parſon of Hadley, was puniſhed by fire in that place, ſurrounded by his ancient friends and pariſhioners. When tied to the ſtake, he rehearſed a pſalm in Engliſh: One of his guards ſtruck him in the mouth, and bade him ſpeak

[f] Fox, vol. iii. p. 139. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302. [g] Fox, vol. iii. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. ii, p. 302. Heylin, p. 48, 49. Godwin, p. 349.

Latin;

Latin: Another, in a rage, gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which happily put an end to his torments. CHAP. XXXVII. 1555.

THERE was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, enflamed with such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adversary's face, to shew the great detestation which he had entertained against that heresy. He afterwards wrote a treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal: He said, that he was led to it, in order to relieve the sorrow conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted into the society of any Christian[h]. Philpot was a protestant; and falling now into the hands of people, as zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemned to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. It seems to be almost a general rule, that, in all religions, except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom who would not also inflict it willingly on all that differ from him. The same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both.

THE crime, for which almost all the protestants were condemned, was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected, that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers[i]. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of

[h] Strype, vol. iii. p. 261. and Coll. N° 58.

[i] Heylin, p. 47, 48.

burning,

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burning, he held his hand to the candle, till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt[k].

1555. It is needleſs to be particular in enumerating all the cruelties practiſed in England during the courſe of three years that theſe perſecutions laſted: The ſavage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient conſtancy on the other, are ſo ſimilar in all thoſe martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itſelf, would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occaſion, ſo deteſtable, and at the ſame time ſo abſurd, as in theſe religious perſecutions, which ſink men below infernal ſpirits in wickedneſs, and below the beaſts in folly. A few inſtances only may be worth preſerving, in order, if poſſible, to warn zealous bigots, for ever to avoid ſuch odious and ſuch fruitleſs barbarity.

Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burned in his own dioceſe; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to[l]. Ridley, biſhop of London, and Latimer, formerly biſhop of Worceſter, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, periſhed together in the ſame flames at Oxford, and ſupported each other's conſtancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the ſtake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; "we ſhall this day kindle ſuch a torch in England, as, "I truſt in God, ſhall never be extinguiſhed." The executioners had been ſo merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be aſcribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about theſe prelates, in order to put a ſpeedy period to their tortures: The exploſion immediately killed Latimer, who was in extreme old age: Ridley continued alive during ſome time in the midſt of the flames[m].

k Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.

l Ibid. p. 226.

m Burnet, vol. ii. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.

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One Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been ſeduced by a prieſt into a diſpute, had unwarily denied the real preſence. Senſible of his danger, he immediately abſconded; but Bonner, laying hold of his father, threatened him with the greateſt ſeverities, if he did not produce the young man to ſtand his trial. Hunter, hearing of the vexations to which his father was expoſed, voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf to Bonner, and was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the ſtake, agreed with his friends, that, if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a ſignal to that purpoſe in the midſt of the flames. His zeal for the cauſe in which he ſuffered, ſo ſupported him, that he ſtretched out his arms, the ſignal agreed on; and in that poſture he expired[l]. This example, with many others of like conſtancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to ſuffer, but even to court and aſpire to martyrdom.

The tender ſex itſelf, as they have commonly greater propenſity to religion, produced many examples of the moſt inflexible courage, in ſupporting the profeſſion of it, againſt all the fury of the perſecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumſtances, which, even at that time, excited aſtoniſhment, by reaſon of their unuſual barbarity. A woman in Guernſey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the ſtake, was thrown into ſuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burſt, and ſhe was delivered in the midſt of the flames. One of the guards immediately ſnatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to ſave it: But a magiſtrate, who ſtood by, ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he ſaid, that nothing ſhould ſurvive which ſprang from ſo obſtinate and heretical a parent[m].

[l] Fox, vol. iii. p. 265. [m] Ibid. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 337.

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THE perſons condemned to theſe puniſhments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing, contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion: They were ſeized merely on ſuſpicion; and articles being offered them to ſubſcribe, they were immediately, upon their refuſal, condemned to the flames[n]. Theſe inſtances of barbarity, ſo unuſual in the nation, excited horror; the conſtancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even falſe religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were ſhocked to ſee perſons of probity, of honour, of pious diſpoſitions, expoſed to puniſhments more ſevere than were inflicted on the greateſt ruffians, for crimes ſubverſive of civil ſociety. To exterminate the whole proteſtant party, was known to be impoſſible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to ſubject to torture the moſt conſcientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to eſcape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred ſermons againſt popery; and men either avoided ſuch horrid ſpectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though ſecret, indignation againſt the perſecutors. Repeated orders were ſent from the council to quicken the diligence of the magiſtrates in ſearching out heretics; and, in ſome places, the gentry were conſtrained to countenance, by their preſence, thoſe barbarous executions. Theſe acts of violence tended only to render the Spaniſh government daily more odious; and Philip, ſenſible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himſelf by a very groſs artifice: He ordered his confeſſor to deliver in his preſence a ſermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine ſomewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spaniſh friar[o]. But the court, finding that Bonner, however ſhameleſs and ſavage, would not bear alone the whole

[n] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 306. [o] Heylin, p. 56.

infamy,

infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without controul. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. Twenty-one persons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commission runs in these terms: "That since many "false rumours were published among the subjects, and "many heretical opinions were also spread among them, "the commissioners were to enquire into those, either by "presentments, by witnesses, or any other political way "they could devise, and to search after all heresies; the "bringers in, the sellers, the readers of all heretical "books: They were to examine and punish all misbe-"haviours or negligences, in any church or chapel; "and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament "of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or "come to their parish church to service, that would not "go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy "water: And if they found any that did obstinately "persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the "hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to "the spiritual laws: Giving the commissioners full power "to proceed, as their discretions and consciences should "direct them, and to use all such means as they would "invent for the searching of the premises; empowering "them also to call before them such witnesses as they "pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things "as might discover what they sought after[p]." Some

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[p] Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 32.

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civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer to the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to lord North, and others, enjoining them, "To "put to the torture such obstinate persons as would "not confess, and there to order them at their discre-"tion[q]." Secret spies also, and informers, were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, "That they should call secretly before them one or two "honest persons within their limits, or more, at their "discretion, and command them by oath, or otherwise, "that they shall secretly learn and search out such per-"sons as shall evil-behave themselves in church, or "idly, or shall despise openly by words, the king's or "queen's proceedings, or go about to make any com-"motion, or tell any seditious tales or news. And "also that the same persons so to be appointed, shall "declare to the same justices of peace, the ill behaviour "of lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for using "unlawful games, and such other light behaviour of "such suspected persons: And that the same informa-"tion shall be given secretly to the justices; and the "same justices shall call such accused persons before "them, and examine them, without declaring by whom "they were accused. And that the same justices shall, "upon their examination, punish the offenders, accord-"ing as their offences shall appear, upon the accusement "and examination, by their discretion, either by open "punishment or by good abearing[r]." In some respects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition; by introducing, into every part of government, the same iniquities which that tribunal practises

[q] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243.

[r] Ibid. p. 246, 247.

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for the extirpation of hereſy only, and which are, in ſome meaſure, neceſſary, wherever that end is earneſtly purſued.

But the court had deviſed a more expeditious and ſummary method of ſupporting orthodoxy than even the inquiſition itſelf. They iſſued a proclamation againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition; and declared, "That "whoſoever had any of theſe books, and did not preſently "burn them, without reading them, or ſhewing them "to any other perſon, ſhould be eſteemed rebels; and "without any farther delay, be executed by martial "law[s]." From the ſtate of the Engliſh government, during that period, it is not ſo much the illegality of theſe proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our cenſure.

We have thrown together almoſt all the proceedings againſt heretics, though carried on during a courſe of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as poſſible, to return to ſuch ſhocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were brought to the ſtake; beſides thoſe who were puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire, were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This perſevering cruelty appears aſtoniſhing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practiſed in other countries. A great author[t] computes, that, in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated againſt the reformers, there had been fifty thouſand perſons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had alſo been conſiderable. Yet in

[s] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 363. Heylin, p. 79.

[t] Father Paul, lib. 5.

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both countries, as the ſame author ſubjoins, the progreſs of the new opinions, inſtead of being checked, was rather forwarded by theſe perſecutions.

THE burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romiſh communion; and little ſolicitation was requiſite to engage the pope to receive the ſtrayed flock, from which he reaped ſuch conſiderable profit: Yet was there a ſolemn embaſſy ſent to Rome, conſiſting of Sir Anthony Brown, created viſcount Montacute, the biſhop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the ſubmiſſions of England, and beg to be re-admitted into the boſom of the catholic church[u]. Paul IV. after a ſhort interval, now filled the papal chair; the moſt haughty pontiff that during ſeveral ages had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended, that Mary ſtill retained among her titles, that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he ſaw cauſe, either to erect new kingdoms or aboliſh the old: But to avoid all diſpute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and he then admitted the title, as if it had been aſſumed from his conceſſion. This was a uſual artifice of the popes, to give allowance to what they could not prevent[w], and afterwards pretend, that princes, while they exerciſed their own powers, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul had at firſt intended to oblige Mary formerly to recede from this title, before he would beſtow it upon her; he found it prudent to proceed in a leſs haughty manner[x].

ANOTHER point in diſcuſſion between the pope and the Engliſh ambaſſadors was not ſo eaſily terminated. Paul inſiſted, that the property and poſſeſſions of the church ſhould be reſtored to the uttermoſt farthing: That what-

u Heylin, p. 45.
w Ibid. Father Paul, lib. 5.
x Father Paul, lib. 5.

ever

ever belonged to God could never by any law be converted to profane uſes, and every perſon who detained ſuch poſſeſſions was in a ſtate of eternal damnation: That he would willingly, in conſideration of the humble ſubmiſſions of the Engliſh, make them a preſent of theſe eccleſiaſtical revenues; but ſuch a conceſſion exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that ſo great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon them, and would blaſt all their future felicity: That if they would truly ſhew their filial piety, they muſt reſtore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romiſh church, and Peter's pence among the reſt; nor could they expect, that this apoſtle would open to them the gates of paradiſe, while they detained from him his patrimony on earth[y]. Theſe earneſt remonſtrances being tranſmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to eaſe her conſcience, to reſtore all the church lands which were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the crown: And the more to diſplay her zeal, ſhe erected anew ſome convents and monaſteries, notwithſtanding the low condition of the exchequer[z]. When this meaſure was debated in council, ſome members objected, that, if ſuch a conſiderable part of the revenue were diſmembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; but the queen replied, that ſhe preferred the ſalvation of her ſoul to ten ſuch kingdoms as England[a]. Theſe imprudent meaſures would not probably have taken place ſo eaſily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: The great ſeal was given to Heathe, archbiſhop of York; that an eccleſiaſtic might ſtill be poſſeſſed of that high office, and be better enabled by his

y Father Paul, lib. 5. Heylin, p. 45. a Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv p. 312. z Heylin, p. 53. 65. Hollingſhed, p. 1127. Speed, p. 826.

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authority to forward the perſecutions againſt the reformed.

1555. 21ſt Octob. A parliament.

THESE perſecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public diſcontent appeared in the new parliament, ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter[b]. A bill[c] was paſſed, reſtoring to the church the tenths and firſt-fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herſelf, great oppoſition was made to the bill in the houſe of commons. An application being made for a ſubſidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refuſed by the commons; and many members ſaid, that while the crown was thus deſpoiling itſelf of its revenue, it was in vain to beſtow riches upon it. The parliament rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating ſuch as were remiſs in the proſecution of hereſy from being juſtices of peace. The queen, finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

9th Dec.

THE ſpirit of oppoſition, which began to prevail in parliament, was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as ſhe was otherwiſe in very bad humour, on account of her huſband's abſence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealouſy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the firſt opportunity to leave her, and had gone over laſt ſummer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the diſappointment in her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and ſhe gave vent to her ſpleen by daily enforcing the perſecutions againſt the proteſtants, and even by expreſſions of rage againſt all her ſubjects; by whom ſhe knew herſelf to be

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 322.

[c] 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. cap. 4.

hated,

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hated, and whoſe oppoſition, in refuſing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cauſe, ſhe believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her ſo little of his company[d]. The leſs return her love met with, the more it increaſed; and ſhe paſſed moſt of her time in ſolitude, where ſhe gave vent to her paſſion, either in tears, or in writing fond epiſtles to Philip, who ſeldom returned her any anſwer, and ſcarcely deigned to pretend any ſentiment of love or even of gratitude towards her. The chief part of government, to which ſhe attended, was the extorting of money from her people, in order to ſatisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a ſcanty ſupply, ſhe had recourſe to expedients very violent and irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thouſand perſons, of whoſe compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, ſhe held herſelf beſt aſſured: But that ſum not ſufficing, ſhe exacted a general loan on every one who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a-year. This impoſition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged, many of them to retrench their expences, and diſmiſs their ſervants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: And as theſe ſervants, accuſtomed to idleneſs, and having no means of ſubſiſtence, commonly betook themſelves to theft and robbery, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, by which ſhe obliged their former maſters to take them back to their ſervice. She levied 60,000 marks on 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and ſhe exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage ſome Londoners to comply more willingly with her multiplied extortions, ſhe paſſed an edict, prohibiting, for four months, the exporting of any Engliſh cloth or kerſey to the Netherlands; an expedient which procured a good market for ſuch

The queen's extortions.

[d] Depeches de Noailles, vol. v. p. 370. 562.

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1555. as had already ſent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciouſneſs engaged her to give endleſs diſturbance and interruption to commerce. The Engliſh company ſettled in Antwerp having refuſed her a loan of 40,000 pounds, ſhe diſſembled her reſentment, till ſhe found, that they had bought and ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: She then laid an embargo on the ſhips, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at firſt demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to ſubmit to an arbitrary impoſition of twenty ſhillings on each piece. Some time after ſhe was informed, that the Italian merchants had ſhipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay her a crown a piece, the uſual impoſition: She ſtruck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited the foreigners from making any exportation; and received from the Engliſh merchants, in conſideration of this iniquity, the ſum of 50,000 pounds, and an impoſition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they ſhould export. She attempted to borrow great ſums abroad; but her credit was ſo low, that, tho' ſhe offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, ſhe could not obtain it, till ſhe compelled the city of London to be ſurety for her[c]. All theſe violent expedients were employed, while ſhe herſelf was in profound peace with all the world, and had viſibly no occaſion for money but to ſupply the demands of a huſband, who gave attention only to his own convenience, and ſhowed himſelf entirely indifferent about her intereſts.

The emperor reſigns his crown.

PHILIP was now become maſter of all the wealth of the new world, and of the richeſt and moſt extenſive domi-

[c] Godwin, p. 359. Cooper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 359. Carte, p. 330. 333. 337. 341. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 428. 558. Annals, vol. i. p. 25.

nions

nions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor, Charles V.; who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness which he had in vain pursued amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries; and, seating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and, devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burthen which he imposed upon him[4]. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the study of his people's happiness; and represented how much preferable it was to govern, by affection rather than by fear, the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found, that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, and kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects, in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care; an object which meets with less opposition, and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction.

1555. 25th Oct.

A few months after, he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and, embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer

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[4] Thuan. lib. xvi. c. 20.

emperor;

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emperor; and though this obſervation might convince him ſtill more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily deſpiſe what he had renounced, he ſighed to find that all former adulation and obeiſance had been paid to his fortune, not to his perſon. With better reaſon was he ſtruck with the ingratitude of his ſon Philip, who obliged him to wait a long time for the payment of the ſmall penſion which he had reſerved; and this diſappointment in his domeſtic enjoyments gave him a ſenſible concern. He purſued, however, his reſolution with inflexible conſtancy; and, ſhutting himſelf up in his retreat, he exerted ſuch ſelf-command, that he reſtrained even his curioſity from any enquiry concerning the tranſactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing againſt the pains and infirmities under which he laboured occupied a great part of his time; and, during the intervals, he employed his leiſure either in examining the controverſies of theology, with which his age had been ſo much agitated, and which he had hitherto conſidered only in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artiſts, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is ſaid to have here diſcovered a propenſity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his ſentiments. Having amuſed himſelf with the conſtruction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was in which he had ſo much employed himſelf during his grandeur; and how impoſſible that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the ſame belief and opinion. He ſurvived his retreat two years.

THE emperor Charles had very early, in the beginning of his reign, found the difficulty of governing ſuch diſtant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand be

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be elected king of the Romans; with a view to his inheriting the Imperial dignity, as well as his German dominions. But, having afterwards enlarged his ſchemes, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted that he muſt diſmember ſuch conſiderable ſtates; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the moſt tempting offers, and moſt earneſt ſolicitations, to yield up his pretenſions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitleſs, he had reſigned the Imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refuſed the demand; and pretended that though, on the death of an emperor, he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet, in the caſe of a reſignation, the right devolved to the holy ſee, and it belonged to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The conduct of Paul was, in every thing, conformable to theſe lofty pretenſions. He thundered always in the ears of all ambaſſadors, that he ſtood in no need of the aſſiſtance of any prince, that he was above all potentates of the earth, that he would not accuſtom monarchs to pretend to a familiarity or equality with him, that it belonged to him to alter and regulate kingdoms, that he was ſucceſſor of thoſe who had depoſed kings and emperors, and that, rather than ſubmit to any thing below his dignity, he would ſet fire to the four corners of the world. He went ſo far, as, at table, in the preſence of many perſons, and even openly, in a public conſiſtory, to ſay, that he would not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his ſubjects, and he would hold them under theſe feet: So ſaying, he ſtamped on the ground with his old and infirm limbs: For he was now paſt fourſcore years of age[e].

THE world could not forbear making a compariſon between Charles V. a prince, who, though educated amidſt wars and intrigues of ſtate, had prevented the de-

[e] Father Paul, lib. v.

cline

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cline of age, and had deſcended from the throne, in order to ſet apart an interval for thought and reflection, and a prieſt, who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his dominion, and from reſtleſs ambition and revenge, was throwing all nations into combuſtion. Paul had entertained the moſt inveterate animoſity againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and, though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry, by his ſolicitations, to break it, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in recovering Naples, and the dominions to which he laid claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved hurtful to the predeceſſors of that monarch. He himſelf engaged in hoſtilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and, Guiſe being ſent with forces to ſupport him, the renewal of war between the two crowns ſeemed almoſt inevitable. Philip, though leſs warlike than his father, was no leſs ambitious; and he truſted, that, by the intrigues of the cabinet, where, he believed, his caution and ſecrecy and prudence gave him the ſuperiority, he ſhould be able to ſubdue all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion. For this reaſon, as well as from the deſire of ſettling his new empire, he wiſhed to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that, without ſacrificing his honour, it was impoſſible for him to overlook the hoſtile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great induſtry. In order to give himſelf the more advantage, he was deſirous of embarking England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herſelf extremely averſe to that meaſure, he hoped that the devoted fondneſs which, notwithſtanding repeated inſtances of his indifference, ſhe ſtill bore to him, would effectually ſecond his applications. Had the matter indeed depended ſolely on her, ſhe was incapable of reſiſting her huſband's commands; but ſhe had little weight with her council, ſtill leſs with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming

becoming more odious, ſeemed unable to maintain itſelf even during the moſt profound tranquillity, much more if a war were kindled with France, and what ſeemed an inevitable conſequence, with Scotland, ſupported by that powerful kingdom. CHAP. XXXVII. 1556.

An act of barbarity was this year exerciſed in England, which, added to many other inſtances of the ſame kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained priſoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to puniſhment; and, in order the more fully to ſatiate her vengeance, ſhe reſolved to puniſh him for hereſy, rather than for treaſon. He was cited by the pope to ſtand his trial at Rome; and, though he was known to be kept in cloſe cuſtody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirleby of Ely were ſent to degrade him; and the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which ſuited his ſavage nature[f]. The implacable ſpirit of the queen, not ſatisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which ſhe believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful ſentence, to which he was condemned, prompted her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of diſputation, againſt which he was ſufficiently armed; but by flattery, inſinuation, and addreſs; by repreſenting the dignities to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends whom his beneficent diſpoſition had attached to him during the courſe of his proſperity[g]. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the proſpect of thoſe tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the ſenti- Execution of Cranmer.

[f] Mem. of Cranm. p. 375.

[g] Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383.

ments

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1556.

ments of nature to prevail over his reſolution, and he agreed to ſubſcribe the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy and of the real preſence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation ſhould avail him nothing; and they ſent orders that he ſhould be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he ſhould thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a ſecret intimation of their deſign, or had repented of his weakneſs, ſurprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He ſaid, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his ſovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without reſiſtance, whatever hardſhips they ſhould impoſe upon him: That a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed to his Maker, obliged him to ſpeak truth on all occaſions, and not to relinquiſh, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine, which the Supreme Being had revealed to mankind: That there was one miſcarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he ſeverely repented; the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakneſs to conſent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: That he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a ſincere and open recantation; and was willing to ſeal, with his blood, that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from Heaven: And that, as his hand had erred, by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed, by a ſevere but juſt doom, and ſhould firſt pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the ſtake amidſt the inſults of the catholics; and, having now ſummoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment, with ſingular fortitude. He ſtretched out his hand, and, without betraying, either by his countenance

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or

or motions, the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely conſumed. His thoughts ſeemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud ſeveral times, *This hand has offended.* Satisfied with that atonement, he then diſcovered a ſerenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he ſeemed to be quite inſenſible of his outward ſufferings, and, by the force of hope and reſolution, to have collected his mind altogether within itſelf, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was conſumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidſt the aſhes; an event which, as it was the emblem of his conſtancy, was fondly believed by the zealous proteſtants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; poſſeſſed of learning and capacity, and adorned with candour, ſincerity, and beneficence, and all thoſe virtues which were fitted to render him uſeful and amiable in ſociety. His moral qualities procured him univerſal reſpect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell ſhort of the rigid inflexibility obſerved in many, made him the hero of the proteſtant party[h].

AFTER Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken prieſt's orders, was inſtalled in the ſee of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commiſſion of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averſe to all ſanguinary methods of converting heretics, and deemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpoſe[i]; he found his authority too weak to oppoſe the barbarous and bigoted diſpoſition of the queen and of her counſellors. He himſelf, he knew, had been ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm; and

[h] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331, 332, &c. Godwin, p. 352. [i] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 324, 325.

as

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as Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious perſecutor and his perſonal enemy, he was prompted, by the modeſty of his diſpoſition, to reſerve his credit for other occaſions, in which he had a greater probability of ſucceſs[k].

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1557. THE great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counſellors, openly and zealouſly oppoſed this meaſure. Beſides inſiſting on the marriage articles, which provided againſt ſuch an attempt, they repreſented the violence of the domeſtic factions in England, and the diſordered ſtate of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of all theſe meaſures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependence on Spaniſh counſels. Philip had come to London in order to ſupport his partizans; and he told the queen, that, if he were not gratified in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, he never more would ſet foot in England. This declaration extremely heightened her zeal for promoting his intereſts, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, ſhe threatened to diſmiſs all of them, and to appoint counſellors more obſequious; yet could ſhe not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At length, one Stafford and ſome other conſpirators were detected in a deſign of ſurprizing Scarborough[l]; and, a confeſſion being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunity prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hoſtility, with others of a like ſecret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accord-

[k] Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 352. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

[l] Heylin, p. 72.

ingly declared againſt France; and preparations were every where made for attacking that kingdom.

THE revenue of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds [m]. Any conſiderable ſupplies could ſcarcely be expected from parliament, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the nation; and as the war would ſenſibly diminiſh that branch ariſing from the cuſtoms, the finances, it was foreſeen, would fall ſhort even of the ordinary charges of government; and muſt ſtill more prove unequal to the expences of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her ſervants, beſides the loans extorted from her ſubjects, theſe conſiderations had no influence with her; and in order to ſupport her warlike preparations, ſhe continued to levy money in the ſame arbitrary and violent manner which ſhe had formerly practiſed. She obliged the city of London to ſupply her with 60,000 pounds on her huſband's entry; ſhe levied before the legal time the ſecond year's ſubſidy voted by parliament; ſhe iſſued anew many privy ſeals, by which ſhe procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which ſhe could not victual by reaſon of the dearneſs of proviſions, ſhe ſeized all the corn ſhe could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all theſe expedients, aſſiſted by the power of preſſing, ſhe levied an army of ten thouſand men, which ſhe ſent over to the Low-Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any diſturbance at home, many of the moſt conſiderable gentry were thrown into the Tower; and leſt they ſhould be known, the Spaniſh practice was followed: They either were carried thither in the night-time, or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them [n].

[m] Roſſi, Succeſſi d'Inghilterra, vol. iii. p. 377.

[n] Strype's Eccleſ. Memorials,

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THE king of Spain had assembled an army, which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose to him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourgh and Rocroy, suddenly sat down before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided with a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quintin, with some troops of French and Scottish gensdarmery; and by his exhortations and example animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle, Montmorency, desiring

10th Aug. a supply of men; and the constable approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of these succours. But the duke of Savoy, falling on the reinforcement, did such execution upon them, that

Battle of St. Quintin. not above five hundred got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to total rout, killing four thousand men, and dispersing the remainder. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: Among the latter was the old constable himself, who, fighting valiantly, and resolute to die rather than survive his defeat, was surrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry: And had the Spaniards presently marched thither, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined first to take St. Quintin, in order to secure a communication with his own dominions. A very little

time, it was expected, would finish this enterprize; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recal the Duke of Guise and his army from Italy: And the French, having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Catelet, found the season so far advanced, that he could attempt no other enterprize: He broke up his camp, and retired to winter-quarters. 1557.

But the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with securing the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to plan an enterprize, which France, during her greatest successes, had always regarded as impracticable, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was, in that age, deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked that, as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded the design of making a sudden attack on Calais; he had caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprize being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the measures of the duke of Guise. Calais taken by the French.

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Several bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being ſuddenly aſſembled, formed an army, with which Guiſe made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the ſame time a great number of French ſhips, being ordered into the channel, under colour of cruiſing on the Engliſh, compoſed a fleet which made an attack by ſea on the fortifications. The French aſſaulted St. Agatha with three thouſand harquebuſiers; and the garriſon, though they made a vigorous defence, were ſoon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat to Newnam bridge. The ſiege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the ſame time the fleet battered the riſbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and both theſe caſtles ſeemed expoſed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garriſon was encloſed in the caſtle of Newnam bridge and the riſbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which, without their aſſiſtance, he was utterly unable to defend. The garriſon of Newnam bridge was ſo happy as to effect this purpoſe; but that of the riſbank could not obtain ſuch favourable conditions, and were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The duke of Guiſe, now holding Calais blockaded by ſea and land, thought himſelf ſecure of ſucceeding in his enterprize, but in order to prevent all accident, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries againſt the caſtle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the foſſée, he commanded an aſſault, which ſucceeded; and the French made a lodgment in the caſtle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this poſt; but having loſt two hundred

dred men in a furious attack which he made upon it*, he found his garriſon ſo weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guiſnes fell ſoon after; and thus the duke of Guiſe, in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himſelf maſter of this ſtrong fortreſs, that had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had, that very year, been victorious in the battle of Creſſy. The Engliſh had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them an eaſy entrance into France, it was regarded as the moſt important poſſeſſion belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by Guiſe, who, at the time when all Europe imagined France to be ſunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in oppoſition to the Engliſh, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired poſſeſſion of a place, which no former king of France, even during the diſtractions of the civil wars, between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, had ever ventured to attempt. The Engliſh, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortreſs, murmured loudly againſt the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitleſs war, for the ſake of foreign intereſts, had thus expoſed the nation to ſo ſevere a diſgrace. A treaſury exhauſted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a ſovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumſtances which, notwithſtanding the fair offers and promiſes of Philip, gave them ſmall hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, inſtigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now neceſſitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conqueſts. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

AFTER the peace, which, in conſequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland Affairs of Scotland.

* Thuan. lib. xx. cap. 2.

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and England, the queen-dowager, on pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and she carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke of Aumale, had uncontrouled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and, by his authority, the Scottish nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter, bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, she persuaded him, by their means, to consent to this resignation[p]; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: A marriage, he said, so happily calculated for the tranquillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms, and the only means of ensuring a durable peace between them. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other husband whom she should choose; nor was it easy for him to forgive a man, who, at the same time that he disappointed so natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride, to whom his affections, from his earliest infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen-dowager eluded these applications, by telling him, that, if any measures had been taken disagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerset, who, instead of employing courtesy, caresses, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princess,

[p] Buchanan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 56. Spotswood, p. 92.

had

had had recourſe to arms and violence, and had conſtrained the Scottiſh nobility to ſend their ſovereign into France, in order to intereſt that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence [q].

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When the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, ſhe found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be perſuaded to reſign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princeſs was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit; and having ſtipulated, that he ſhould be declared next heir to the crown, and ſhould be freed from giving any account of his paſt adminiſtration, he placed her in poſſeſſion of the power; and ſhe thenceforth aſſumed the name of regent [r]. It was a uſual ſaying of this princeſs, that, provided ſhe could render her friends happy, and could enſure to herſelf a good reputation, ſhe was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this ſentiment is greatly cenſured by the zealous reformers [s], as being founded wholly on ſecular motives, it diſcovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oiſel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambaſſador from Henry, but in reality to aſſiſt her with his counſels in ſo delicate an undertaking as the adminiſtration of Scotland; and this man had formed a ſcheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to ſupport a ſtanding military force, which might at once repel the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of the Scottiſh nobles. But though ſome of the courtiers were gained over to this project, it gave great and general diſcontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after ingenuouſly confeſſing, that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom,

[q] Keith, p. 59. [r] 12th April, 1554. [s] Knox, p. 89.

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1558. had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects[t].

This laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was she sometimes drawn from it by her connexions with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary commenced hostilities against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the queen was obliged to have recourse to stratagem, in order to effect her purpose. She ordered d'Oisel to begin some fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwick, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scottish nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England[u]. The enterprizes, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders: When d'Oisel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and sharply rebuked by the council[w].

Marriage of the dauphin and the queen of Scots.

In order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and to increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to celebrate the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scottish parliament, to assist at the ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract.

[t] Keith, p. 70. Buchanan, lib. xvi. Thuan. lib. xix. c. 7.

[u] Buchanan, lib. xvi.

[w] Knox, p. 93.

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THE cloſe alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repoſe and ſecurity of Mary; and it was foreſeen, that, though the factions and diſorders, which might naturally be expected in the Scottiſh government, during the abſence of the ſovereign, would make its power leſs formidable, that kingdom would at leaſt afford to the French a means of invading England. The queen, therefore, found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament, and to demand of them ſome ſupplies to her exhauſted exchequer. And ſuch an emergency uſually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments, during this reign, had ſhewn, that, where the liberty and independency of the kingdom was menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we ſhall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money ſhould, at leaſt, be cenſured, and, perhaps, ſome remedy be for the future provided againſt them. The commons, however, without making any reflections on the paſt, voted, beſides a fifteenth, a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight ſhillings in the pound, payable, as was alſo the ſubſidy of the laity, in four years by equal portions.

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A parliament.

THE parliament alſo paſſed an act, confirming all the ſales and grants of crown lands, which either were already made by the queen, or ſhould be made during the ſeven enſuing years. It was eaſy to foreſee, that, in Mary's preſent diſpoſition and ſituation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demeſnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than to eſtabliſh a prince with very extenſive authority, yet permit him to be reduced to beggary. This act met with oppoſition in the houſe of commons. One Copley expreſſed his fears leſt the queen,

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nnder colour of the power there granted, might alter the ſucceſſion, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir; But his words were thought *irreverent* to her majeſty: He was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; and though he expreſſed ſorrow for his offence, he was not releaſed, till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

THE Engliſh nation, during this whole reign, were under great apprehenſions, with regard not only to the ſucceſſion, but the life, of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred, which the queen bore to her, broke out on every occaſion; and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princeſs retired into the country; and knowing that ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe paſſed her time wholly in reading and ſtudy, intermeddled in no buſineſs, and ſaw very little company. While ſhe remained in this ſituation, which for the preſent was melancholy, but which prepared her mind for thoſe great actions, by which her life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed; propoſals of mariage were made to her by the Swediſh ambaſſador, in his maſter's name. As her firſt queſtion was, whether the queen had been informed of theſe propoſals? the ambaſſador told her, that his maſter thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty firſt to make his addreſſes to herſelf; and having obtained her conſent, he would next, as a king, apply to her ſiſter. But the princeſs would allow him to proceed no farther; and the queen, after thanking her for this inſtance of duty, deſired to know how ſhe ſtood affected to the Swediſh propoſals. Elizabeth, though expoſed to many preſent dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reſerve herſelf for better fortune; and ſhe covered her refuſal with profeſſions of a paſſionate attachment to a ſingle life, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe infinitely preferred before

fore any other[y]. The princeſs ſhowed like prudence in concealing her ſentiments of religion, in complying with the preſent modes of worſhip, and in eluding all queſtions with regard to that delicate ſubject[z]. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

THE money granted by parliament, enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail, which, being joined by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, and carrying ſix thouſand land forces on board, was ſent to make an attempt on the coaſt of Britanny. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was ſo dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the deſign, and were prepared to receive them. The Engliſh found Breſt ſo well guarded as to render an attempt on that place impracticable; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town, with ſome adjacent villages, and were proceeding to commit greater diſorders, when Kerſimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of ſome militia, fell upon them, put them to rout, and drove them to their ſhips with conſiderable loſs. But a ſmall ſquadron of ten Engliſh ſhips had an opportunity of amply revenging this diſgrace upon the French. The mareſchal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption

y Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. N° 37.

z The common net at that time, ſays Sir Richard Baker, for catching of proteſtants, was the real preſence; and this net was uſed to catch the lady Elizabeth: For being aſked one time, what ſhe thought of the words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, whether ſhe thought it the true body of Chriſt that was in the ſacrament? it is ſaid, that, after ſome pauſing, ſhe thus anſwered:

Chriſt was the word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Which, though it may ſeem but a ſlight expreſſion, yet hath it more ſolidneſs than at firſt ſight appears; at leaſt, it ſerved her turn at that time, to eſcape the net, which by direct anſwer ſhe could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

into

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into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thouſand men; and having forced a paſſage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport, but count Egmont coming ſuddenly upon him, with ſuperior forces, he was obliged to retreat; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he choſe very ſkilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions poſſible; and poſted his right along the river Aa, which, he reaſonably thought, gave him full ſecurity from that quarter. But the Engliſh ſhips, which were accidentally on the coaſt, being drawn by the noiſe of the firing, ſailed up the river, and flanking the French, did ſuch execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight; and the Spaniards gained a complete victory[a].

MEANWHILE the principal army of France, under the duke of Guiſe, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their reſpective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected, that ſome great and important event would follow, from the emulation of theſe warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by the ambition, poſſeſſed not the enterprizing genius of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by treaty. Negociations were entered into for that purpoſe; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were ſomewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter-quarters, till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and

[a] Hollingſhed, p. 1150.

its

its territory to England: But in the midſt of theſe negociations, news arrived of the death of Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax in his firmneſs on that capital article. This was the only circumſtance that could have made the death of that princeſs be regretted by the nation. CHAP. XXXVII. 1558.

MARY had long been in a declining ſtate of health; and having miſtaken her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had made uſe of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects, the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion, apprehenſions of the danger to which the catholic religion ſtood expoſed, dejection for the loſs of Calais, concern for the ill ſtate of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the abſence of her huſband, who, ſhe knew, intended ſoon to depart for Spain, and to ſettle there during the remainder of his life: All theſe melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. Death of the queen. 17th Nov.

IT is not neceſſary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princeſs. She poſſeſſed few qualities either eſtimable or amiable; and her perſon was as little engaging as her behaviour and addreſs. Obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumſtance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow underſtanding. And amidſt that complication of vices, which entered into her compoſition, we ſhall ſcarcely find any virtue but ſincerity; a quality, which ſhe ſeems to have maintained throughout her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign, when the neceſſity of her affairs obliged her to make ſome promiſes to the proteſtants, which ſhe certainly never intended to perform. But in theſe caſes a weak bigoted woman,

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woman, under the government of prieſts, eaſily finds caſuiſtry ſufficient to juſtify to herſelf the violation of a promiſe. She appears alſo, as well as her father, to have been ſuſceptible of ſome attachments of friendſhip; and that without the caprice and inconſtancy which were ſo remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which we may add, that in many circumſtances of her life, ſhe gave indications of reſolution and vigour of mind; a quality which ſeems to have been inherent in her family.

CARDINAL POLE had long been ſickly, from an intermitting fever; and he died the ſame day with the queen, about ſixteen hours after her. The benign character of this prelate, the modeſty and humanity of his deportment, made him be univerſally beloved; inſomuch that, in a nation, where the moſt furious perſecution was carried on, and where the moſt violent religious factions prevailed, entire juſtice, even by moſt of the reformers, has been done to his merit. The haughty Pontiff, Paul IV. had entertained ſome prejudices againſt him: And when England declared war againſt Henry, the ally of that pope, he ſeized the opportunity of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commiſſion, appointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an obſervantine friar and confeſſor to the queen. But Mary would never permit the new legate to act upon the commiſſion; and Paul was afterwards obliged to reſtore cardinal Pole to his authority.

THERE occur few general remarks, beſides what have already been made in the courſe of our narration, with regard to the general ſtate of the kingdom during this reign. The naval power of England was then ſo inconſiderable, that, fourteen thouſand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed that ten thouſand pounds a-year would afterwards anſwer all neceſſary charges[b]. The

[b] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 259.

arbitrary

arbitrary proceedings of the queen, above-mentioned, joined to many monopolies granted by this princeſs, as well as by her father, checked the growth of commerce; and ſo much the more, as all other princes in Europe either were not permitted, or did not find it neceſſary, to proceed in ſo tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the laſt reign, and in the beginning of the preſent, had laid the ſame impoſitions on the merchants of the ſtill-yard as on other aliens: Yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the ſolicitations of the emperor, and, by her prerogative, ſuſpended thoſe laws[c]. No body in that age pretended to queſtion this exerciſe of prerogative. The hiſtorians are entirely ſilent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

AN abſurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unleſs he had ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years. The law was repealed in the firſt year of the queen; and this plain reaſon given, that it had occaſioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined ſeveral towns[d]. It is ſtrange that Edward's law ſhould have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and ſtill more ſtrange, that it ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt.

A PASSAGE to Archangel had been diſcovered by the Engliſh during the laſt reign; and a beneficial trade with Muſcovy had been eſtabliſhed. A ſolemn embaſſy was ſent by the czar to queen Mary. The ambaſſadors were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Scotland; but being hoſpitably entertained there, they proceeded on the journey, and were received at London with great pomp and ſolemnity[e]. This ſeems to have been the firſt intercourſe

[c] Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364.
[d] 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 7.
[e] Hollingſhed, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71.

which

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which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

A LAW was passed in this reign[f], by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a-year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harness, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten horses fit for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons proper for them: He was obliged to have forty corslets furnished: fifty almain revets, or instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows, thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty black bills or halberts, twenty harquebuts, and twenty morions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of a thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of two hundred pounds a-year: A proof that few or none at that time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits were made by the merchants in the course of trade. There is no class above a thousand pounds a-year.

WE may form a notion of the little progress made in arts and refinement about this time from one circumstance: A man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household paid only thirty shillings a-year of our present money for his house in Channel Row[g]: Yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England to the nastiness and dirt and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors," says he, "are commonly of clay, strewed

[f] 4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. cap. 2.

[g] Nicolson's Historical Library.

"with

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"with rushes, under which lies unmolested an ancient "collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, "excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is "nasty[h]."

HOLLINGSHED, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, gives a very curious account of the plain, or rather rude way of living of the preceding generation. There scarcely was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns: The fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows: The houses were nothing but watling plaistered over with clay: The people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood[i].

In this reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England[k].

[h] Bruf. Epist. 432.
[i] See note [S] at the end of the volume.
[k] 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. cap. 8.

NOTES

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 34.

PROTESTANT writers have imagined, that, because a man could purchase for a shilling an indulgence for the most enormous and unheard-of crimes, there must necessarily have ensued a total dissolution of morality, and consequently of civil society, from the practices of the Romish church. They do not consider, that, after all these indulgences were promulgated, there still remained (besides Hell-fire) the punishment by the civil magistrate, the infamy of the world, and secret remorses of conscience, which are the great motives that operate on mankind. The philosophy of *Cicero*, who allowed of an *Elysium*, but rejected all *Tartarus*, was a much more universal indulgence than that preached by *Arembaldi* or *Tetzel:* Yet nobody will suspect *Cicero* of any design to promote immorality. The sale of indulgences seems, therefore, no more criminal than any other cheat of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The reformers, by entirely abolishing purgatory, did really, instead of partial indulgences sold by the pope, give, gratis, a general indulgence, of a similar nature, for all crimes and offences, without exception or distinction. The souls, once consigned to Hell, were never supposed to be redeemable by any price. There is on record only one instance of a damned soul that was saved, and that by the special intercession of the Virgin. See Pascal's Provincial Letters. An indulgence saved the person, who purchased it, from purgatory only.

NOTE

NOTE [B], p. 48.

IT is ſaid, that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required ſupply, he was ſo provoked, that he ſent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a conſiderable influence on the houſe; and he being introduced to his majeſty, had the mortification to hear him ſpeak in theſe words: *Ho! man! will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?* And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him, *Get my bill paſſed by to-morrow, or elſe to-morrow this head of yours ſhall be off.* This cavalier manner of Henry ſucceeded; for next day the bill paſſed. *Collins's Britiſh Peerage. Grove's Life of Wolſey.* We are told by *Hall*, fol. 38. that cardinal Wolſey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that *it were better that ſome ſhould ſuffer indigence, than that the king at this time ſhould lack; and therefore beware and reſiſt not, nor ruffle not in this caſe, for it may fortune to coſt ſome people their heads.* Such was the ſtyle employed by this king and his miniſters.

NOTE [C], p. 94.

THE firſt article of the charge againſt the cardinal is his procuring the legantine power; which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's conſent and permiſſion, could be nowiſe criminal. Many of the other articles alſo regard the mere exerciſe of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions, which were natural or unavoidable to any man that was prime miniſter with ſo unlimited an authority; ſuch as receiving firſt all letters from the king's miniſters abroad, receiving firſt all viſits from foreign miniſters, deſiring that all applications ſhould be made through him. He was alſo accuſed of naming himſelf with the king, as if he had been his fellow, *the king and I.* It is reported that ſometimes he even put his own name before the king's, *ego et rex meus.* But this mode of expreſſion is juſtified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable, that his whiſpering in the king's ear, knowing himſelf to be affected with veneral diſtempers, is an article againſt him. Many of the charges are

general, and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes ſo far as to affirm, that no man ever fell from ſo high ſtation who had ſo few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps a little too favourable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwel, and their being rejected by a houſe of commons, even in this arbitrary reign, is almoſt a demonſtration of Wolſey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his deſtruction, when, on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the ſtatute of proviſors, which afforded him ſo little juſt hold on that miniſter. For that this indictment was ſubſequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, and Stowe, p. 551, and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themſelves. Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inſt. pt. 4. fol. 89.

NOTE [D], p. 102.

EVEN judging of this queſtion by the Scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cauſe appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage, in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is, indeed, prohibited in Leviticus; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewiſh ceremonial or muncipal law: And though it is there ſaid, in the concluſion, that the gentile nations, by violating thoſe degrees of conſanguinity, had incurred the divine diſpleaſure, the extenſion of this maxim to every preciſe caſe before ſpecified, is ſuppoſing the Scriptures to be compoſed with a minute accuracy and preciſion, to which we know with certainty, the ſacred penmen did not think proper to confine themſelves. The deſcent of mankind from one common father, obliged them, in the firſt generation, to marry in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity: Inſtances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs: And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain caſes, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a poſitive precept by the Moſaical law. It is in vain to ſay that this precept was an exception to the rule; and an exception confined merely to the Jewiſh nation. The inference is ſtill juſt, that ſuch a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude;

turpitude; otherwiſe God, who is the author of all purity, would never, in any caſe, have enjoined it.

NOTE [E], p. 112.

BISHOP BURNET has given us an account of the number of bulls requiſite for Cranmer's inſtallation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is, upon the royal nomination, made archbiſhop of Canterbury. By a ſecond, directed to himſelf, he is alſo made archbiſhop. By a third, he is abſolved from all cenſures. A fourth is directed to the ſuffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbiſhop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the ſame purpoſe. A ſixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A ſeventh to all the laity in his ſee. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordered to be conſecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth the pall was ſent him. By an eleventh, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of London, were required to put it on him. Theſe were ſo many devices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected, and diſpoſed of for money. It may be worth obſerving, that Cranmer before he took the oath to the pope made a proteſtation, that he did not intend thereby to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of theſe. This was the invention of ſome caſuiſt, and not very compatible with that ſtrict ſincerity, and that ſcrupulous conſcience, of which Cranmer made profeſſion. Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. No. 22. Burnet, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

NOTE [F], p. 128.

HERE are the terms in which the king's miniſter expreſſed himſelf to the pope. An non, inquam, ſanctitas veſtra pleroſque habet quibuſcum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum eſſe quam ſi uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis ſereniſſimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui ſinguli in ſuo regno ſunt ſubjecti, neque etiam velint, poſſunt Regi non eſſe fideliſſimi. Væ namque illis, ſi vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent.

Le Grand, tom. iii. p. 113. The king once ſaid publicly before the council, that if any one ſpoke of him or his actions, in terms which became them not, he would let them know that he was maſter. Et qu'il n'y auroit ſi belle tête qu'il ne fit voler. Id. p. 218.

NOTE [G], p. 158.

THIS letter contains ſo much nature, and even elegance, as to deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity, without any alteration in the expreſſion. It is as follows:

"SIR, your grace's diſpleaſure, and my impriſonment, are "things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to "excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto "me (willing me to confeſs a truth, and ſo obtain your fa-"vour) by ſuch an one, whom you know to be mine ancient "profeſſed enemy, I no ſooner received this meſſage by him, "than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you "ſay, confeſſing a truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I "ſhall, with all willingneſs and duty, perform your com-"mand.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife "will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo "much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to ſpeak a truth, "never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all "true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: "With which name and place I could willingly have con-"tented myſelf, if God and your grace's pleaſure had been "ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf "in my exaltation or received queenſhip, but that I always "looked for ſuch an alteration as I now find; for the ground "of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your "grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration I knew was fit and ſuffi-"cient to draw that fancy to ſome other object. You have "choſen me from a low eſtate to be your queen and compa-"nion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you found "me worthy of ſuch honour, good your grace let not any "light fancy, or bad counſel of mine enemies, withdraw "your princely favour from me; neither let that ſtain, that "unworthy ſtain, of a diſloyal heart towards your good

"grace,

"grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful wife, "and the infant princeſs your daughter. Try me, good "king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my ſworn "enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges; yea let me receive "an open trial, for my truth ſhall fear no open ſhame; then "ſhall you ſee either mine innocence cleared, your ſuſpicion "and conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the "world ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that what-"ſoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may "be freed from an open cenſure; and mine offence being ſo "lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God "and man, not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me as "an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection, already ſet-"tled on that party for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe "name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto, "your grace not being ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not "only my death, but an infamous ſlander, muſt bring you the "enjoying of your deſired happineſs, then I deſire of God "that he will pardon your great ſin therein, and likewiſe "mine enemies, the inſtruments thereof, and that he will not "call you to a ſtrict account for your unprincely and cruel "uſage of me, at his general judgment-ſeat, where both you "and myſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe judgment I "doubt not (whatſoever the world may think of me) mine "innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

"My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that myſelf may only "bear the burden of your grace's diſpleaſure, and that it "may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor gentlemen, "who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait impriſonment "for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if "ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleaſing in your "ears, then let me obtain this requeſt, and I will ſo leave to "trouble your grace any farther, with mine earneſt prayers "to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and "to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful priſon "in the Tower, this fifth of May;

"Your moſt loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN."

NOTE [H], p. 169.

A Propoſal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the leſſer monaſteries; and had been much oppoſed by biſhop Fiſher, who was then alive. He told his brethren, that this was fairly ſhowing the king the way how he might come at the greater monaſteries. "An ax," ſaid he, "which wanted a handle, came upon a time into the "wood, making his moan to the great trees that he wanted "a handle to work withal, and for that cauſe he was con-"ſtrained to ſit idle; therefore he made it his requeſt to them, "that they would be pleaſed to grant him one of their ſmall "ſaplings within the wood to make him a handle; who, "miſtruſting no guile, granted him one of their ſmaller trees "to make him a handle. But now becoming a complete ax, "he fell ſo to work, within the ſame wood, that, in proceſs "of time there was neither great nor ſmall trees to be found "in the place where the wood ſtood. And ſo, my lords, if "you grant the king theſe ſmaller monaſteries, you do but "make him a handle, whereby, at his own pleaſure, he may "cut down all the cedars within your Lebanons." Dr. Bailie's Life of biſhop Fiſher, p. 108.

NOTE [I], p. 182.

THERE is a curious paſſage, with regard to the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, to be found in Coke's Inſtitutes, 4th Inſt. chap. 1. p. 44. It is worth tranſcribing, as it ſhews the ideas of the Engliſh government, entertained during the reign of Henry VIII. and even in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when he wrote his Inſtitutes. It clearly appears that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were deſirous of making the crown quite independent, and wiſhed only to remove from themſelves, as much as poſſible, the burthens of government. A large ſtanding army, and a fixed revenue, would, on theſe conditions have been regarded as great bleſſings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little ſuſpicion that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the Engliſh owe all their preſent liberty,

liberty. The title of the chapter in Coke is, *Advice concerning new and plauſible Projects and Offers in Parliament.* "When "any plauſible project," ſays he, "is made in parliament, "to draw the lords and commons to aſſent to any act (eſpe- "cially in matters of weight and importance), if both houſes "do give upon the matter projected and promiſed their con- "ſent, it ſhall be moſt neceſſary, they being truſted for the "commonwealth, to have the matter projected and promiſed "(which moved the houſes to conſent) to be eſtabliſhed in "the ſame act, leſt the benefit of the act be taken, and the "matter projected and promiſed never performed, and ſo the "houſes of parliament perform not the truſt repoſed in them, "as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the reign "of Henry the Eighth: On the king's behalf, the members "of both houſes were informed in parliament, that no king "or kingdom was ſafe, but where the king had three abili- "ties; 1. To live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom "upon any ſudden invaſion or inſurrection. 2. To aid his "confederates, otherwiſe they would never aſſiſt him. 3. "To reward his well-deſerving ſervants. Now the project "was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the "abbies, priories, friaries, nunneries, and other monaſteries, "that, for ever in time then to come, he would take order "that the ſame ſhould not be converted to private uſes; but "firſt, that his exchequer for the purpoſes aforeſaid ſhould "be enriched; ſecondly, the kingdom ſtrengthened by a "continual maintenance of forty thouſand well-trained ſol- "diers, with ſkilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for "the benefit and eaſe of the ſubject, who never afterwards "(as was projected), in any time to come, ſhould be charged "with ſubſidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; "fourthly, leſt the honour of the realm ſhould receive any "diminution of honour by the diſſolution of the ſaid mona- "ſteries, there being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the "abbots and priors (that held of the king *per baroniam*, "whereof more in the next leaf), that the king would create "a number of nobles, which we omit. The ſaid monaſteries "were given to the king by authority of divers acts of par-

"liament,

" liament, but no proviſion was therein made for the ſaid " project, or any part thereof."

NOTE [K], p. 192.

COLLIER, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 152. has preſerved an account which Cromwel gave of this conference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyat, the king's ambaſſador in Germany. " The king's majeſty," ſays Cromwel, " for the reverence of the holy ſacrament of the altar, did ſit " openly in his hall, and there preſided at the diſputation, " proceſs and judgment of a miſerable heretic ſacramentary, " who was burned the 20th of November. It was a wonder " to ſee how princely, with how excellent gravity and in- " eſtimable majeſty his highneſs exerciſed there the very office " of ſupreme head of the church of England. How benignly " his grace eſſayed to convert the miſerable man: How ſtrong " and manifeſt reaſons his highneſs alleged againſt him. I " wiſh the princes and potentates of Chriſtendom to have had " a meet place to have ſeen it. Undoubtedly they ſhould " have much marvelled at his majeſty's moſt high wiſdom " and judgment, and reputed him no otherwiſe after the " fame, than in a manner the mirror and light of all other " kings and princes in Chriſtendom." It was by ſuch flatteries that Henry was engaged to make his ſentiments the ſtandard to all mankind; and was determined to enforce, by the ſevereſt penalties, his *ſtrong* and *manifeſt* reaſons for tranſubſtantiation.

NOTE [L], p. 195.

THERE is a ſtory, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, ſoon after this act was paſſed, one of his chaplains, who was ſuſpected of favouring the reformation, ſaid to him, " Now, " Sir, what think you of the law to hinder prieſts from having " wives?" " Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, " you " have done that; but I will anſwer for it, you cannot hinder " men's wives from having prieſts."

NOTE

NOTE [M], p. 210.

TO ſhew how much Henry ſported with law and common ſenſe; how ſervilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame; an act was paſſed this ſeſſion, declaring that a pre-contract ſhould be no ground for annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made uſe of both in the caſe of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is ſaid to be a deſign of reſtoring the princeſs Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the preſent object, without regarding the inconſiſtency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treaſon to deny the diſſolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

NOTE [N], p. 221.

IT was enacted by this parliament, that there ſhould be trial of treaſon in any county where the king ſhould appoint by commiſſion. The ſtatutes of treaſon had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and ſuch an expedient ſaved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The ſame parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of King of Ireland to his other titles. This ſeſſion, the commons firſt began the practice of freeing any of their members, who were arreſted, by a writ iſſued by the ſpeaker. Formerly it was uſual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpoſe. This precedent encreaſed the authority of the commons, and had afterwards important conſequences. Hollingſhed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

NOTE [O], p. 230.

THE perſecutions exerciſed during James's reign are not to be aſcribed to his bigotry, a vice of which he ſeems to have been as free as Francis the Firſt, or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, ſhewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities to which all theſe princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the ſituation of affairs during that age, which rendered it impoſſible for them to act with

greater

greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the reſolution of ſupporting the ancient eſtabliſhments. So violent was the propenſity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed deſign of changing the national religion.

NOTE [P], p. 296.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 75. The ſame author, p. 92. tells us a ſtory, which confirms this character of the popiſh clergy in Scotland. It became a great diſpute in the univerſity of St. Andrews, whether the *pater* ſhould be ſaid to God or the ſaints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the ſaints, were determined to maintain their honour with great obſtinacy, but they knew not upon what topics to found their doctrine. Some held that the *pater* was ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to ſaints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, and to ſaints *minus principaliter*; others would have it *ultimate* and *non ultimate:* But the majority ſeemed to hold, that the *pater* was ſaid to God *capiendo ſtricte* and to ſaints *capiendo large*. A ſimple fellow, who ſerved the ſub-prior, thinking there was ſome great matter in hand, that made the doctors hold ſo many conferences together, aſked him one day what the matter was? the ſub-prior anſwering, *Tom*, that was the fellow's name, *we cannot agree to whom the paternoſter ſhould be ſaid*. He ſuddenly replied, *To whom, Sir, ſhould it be ſaid, but unto God?* Then ſaid the ſub-prior, *What ſhall we do with the ſaints?* He anſwered, *Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the devil's name; for that may ſuffice them*. The anſwer going abroad, many ſaid, *that he had given a wiſer deciſion than all the doctors had done with all their diſtinctions*.

NOTE [Q], p. 321.

ANOTHER act, paſſed this ſeſſion, takes notice in the preamble, that the city of York, formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed; inſomuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incumbents. To remedy this inconvenience, the magiſtrates were impowered to unite as many pariſhes as they thought proper.

An

An eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, Collier, vol. ii. p. 230. thinks that this decay of York is chiefly to be aſcribed to the diſſolution of monaſteries, by which the revenues fell into the hands of perſons who lived at a diſtance.

A very grievous tax was impoſed this ſeſſion upon the whole ſtock and monied intereſt of the kingdom, and even upon its induſtry. It was a ſhilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every perſon worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizens. Theſe laſt, if above twelve years of age, and if worth leſs than twenty ſhillings, were to pay eight-pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two-pence yearly; every ewe three-pence. The woollen manufacturers were to pay eight-pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. Theſe exorbitant taxes on money are a proof that few people lived on money lent at intereſt: For this tax amounts to half of the yearly income of all money-holders, during three years, eſtimating their intereſt at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many perſons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this ſeſſion. The profits of merchandiſe were commonly ſo high, that it was ſuppoſed it could bear this impoſition. The moſt abſurd part of the laws ſeems to be the tax upon the woollen manufactures. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The ſubſequent parliament repealed the tax on ſheep and woollen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. Ibid.

The clergy taxed themſelves at ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in parliament, which had been the common practice ſince the reformation, implying that the clergy have no legiſlative power, even over themſelves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

NOTE [R], p. 401.

THE pope at firſt gave cardinal Pole powers to tranſact only with regard to the paſt fruits of the church lands; but being admoniſhed of the danger attending any attempt towards a reſumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's powers, and granted him authority to enſure the future poſ-

ſeſſion of the church lands to the preſent proprietors. There was only one clauſe in the cardinal's powers that has given occaſion for ſome ſpeculation. An exception was made of ſuch caſes as Pole ſhould think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy ſee. But Pole ſimply ratified the poſſeſſion of all the church lands; and his commiſſion had given him full powers to that purpoſe. See Harleyan Miſcellany, vol. vii. p. 264. 266. It is true, ſome councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, or power, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration. But every year gave ſolidity to the right of the proprietors of church lands, and diminiſhed the authority of the popes; ſo that men's dread of popery in ſubſequent times was more founded on party or religious zeal, than on very ſolid reaſons.

NOTE [S], p. 449.

THE *paſſage of Hollingſhed, in the Diſcourſe prefixed to his Hiſtory, and which ſome aſcribe to Harriſon, is as follows. Speaking of the encreaſe of luxury:* Neither do I ſpeak this in reproach of any man, God is my judge; but to ſhew that I do rejoice rather to ſee how God has bleſſed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to moſt exceſſive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and atchieve ſuch furniture as heretofore has been impoſſible: There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvellouſly altered in England within their ſound remembrance. One is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas, in their young days, there were not above two or three, if ſo many, in moſt uplandiſh towns of the realm (the religious houſes and manor-places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure ſome great perſonage); but each made his fire againſt a reredoſſe in the hall where he dined and dreſſed his meat. The ſecond is the great amendment of lodging: For, ſaid they, our fathers, and we ourſelves, have lain full oft upon ſtraw pallettes covered only with a ſheet under coverlets made of

of dagſwaine or hopharlots (I uſe their own terms), and a good round log under their head inſtead of a bolſter. If it were ſo, that the father or the good-man of the houſe had a matraſs or flock-bed, and thereto a ſack of chaff to reſt his head upon, he thought himſelf to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: So well were they contented. Pillows, ſaid they, were thought meet only for women in childbed: As for ſervants, if they had any ſheet above them, it was well: For ſeldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking ſtraws, that ran oft through the canvas, and razed their hardened hides.——The third thing they tell of is, the exchange of Treene platers *(ſo called, I ſuppoſe, from Tree or Wood)* into pewter, and wooden ſpoons into ſilver or tin. For ſo common were all ſorts of treene veſſels in old time, that a man ſhould hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a ſalt) in a good farmer's houſe. *Deſcription of Britain, chap.* x.——*Again in chap.* xvi. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes builded of ſallow, willow, &c.; ſo that the uſe of the oak was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, navigation, &c. but now ſallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where regarded; and yet ſee the change; for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houſes are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteration. In theſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defence to keep the houſe in ſafety; but now the aſſurance of the timber muſt defend the men from robbing. Now have we many chimnies; and yet our tenderlines complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poſes; then had we none but reredoſſes, and our heads did never ache. For as the ſmoke in thoſe days was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardening for the timber of the houſe, ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good-man and his family from the quack or poſe, wherewith, as then, very few were acquainted.——*Again, in chap.* xviii. Our pewterers in time paſt employed the uſe of pewter only upon diſhes and pots, and a few other trifles for ſervice; whereas now they are grown into ſuch exquiſite cunning, that

that they can in manner imitate by infusion any form or fashion of cup, dish, salt, or bowl or goblet, which is made by goldsmith's craft, though they be never so curious, and very artificially forged. In some places beyond the sea, a garnish of good flat English pewter (I say flat, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deep, and like basons, and are indeed more convenient both for sauce and keeping the meat warm) is almost esteemed so precious as the like number of vessels that are made of fine silver. *If the reader is curious to know the hours of meals in queen Elizabeth's reign, he may learn it from the same Author.* With us the nobility, gentry, and students, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noon, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten.

Froissart mentions waiting on the duke of Lancaster at five o'clock in the afternoon, when he had supped. These hours are still more early. It is hard to tell, why, all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amusements that push on the hours gradually? or are the people of fashion better pleased with the secrecy and silence of nocturnal hours, when the industrious vulgar are all gone to rest? In rude ages, men have few amusements or occupations but what daylight affords them.



END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.